

MATHEHABE Miles Capitᵃ
Justic. de Banco Regis Anᵒ 168
for W. Shrewsbery at The sign of The Bible in Duck Lane

CONTEMPLATIONS MORAL AND DIVINE.

The Third Part.

By Sir MATTHEW HALE, *Knight; Sometime Chief Justice of the* King's-Bench.

The Second Edition, *with* Large Additions, *by the same* Author.

To which is Added,

The LIFE *of the* Author, *Written by the Reverend Father in God*, Gilbert, *Lord Bishop of* Sarum.

LONDON,

Printed for *William Shrowsbury*, at the Bible in *Duke-Lane*, 1700.

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TO THE

READER.

THE *Author of the following Treatiſes, is that Judicious and Pious Man,* Sir Matthew Hale. *The World needs not to be Inſtructed in the Worth of that Excellent Perſon, nor the Value ſet upon all his Writings. Thoſe, who had the Happineſs of knowing, and being Converſant with him, are Witneſſes to the one, and the meaneſt Reader needs not to be inform'd in the other. The Author of his Life, and the Publiſher of many of his Pieces, make him known to thoſe, who before were unacquainted with him; ſo that to pretend to give any Account of him here, were but* actum agere, *and to be as tedious as impertinent.*

By them we find our Author ſo Faithful a Manager of his Time, as to make it conſtantly ſubſervient to the good of the Publick. For when he withdrew from the Fatigue of ſerving that in his high Station, he enjoy'd not his leiſure Hours in idle Eaſe, but laid 'em out upon inſtructing the Nobleſt part of Man: And his Thoughts never flow'd ſo uſefully, as when ſequeſter'd from VVorldly Buſineſs.

The Treatiſes now Publiſh'd, are the effects of the moſt delightful part of his Life, his Horæ Sacræ, *and make a Third Volume of his* Contemplations.

† Contemplations, 1 *Vol.*

He had † *before given us one part of the* Knowledge of Chriſt Crucified, *and now you are preſented with a juſt Diſcourſe upon the ſame Subject. What he or rather his Publiſher,* * *had given us but a taſte of, upon that grand Precept, of* doing as we would be done unto, *is now in this*

*Kno wledge of God and of our ſelves.

this Tract largely purſued, and juſtly handled. The other parts of this Volume are entire Diſcourſes upon Subjects not before Treated of by him; only the Advice to his Children *is* || *purſuant to his Cuſtom of ſending or giving 'em his Directions upon ſeveral Occaſions.*

|| Directions for the keeping of the *Lord's* Day.

The uſefulneſs of this Good Man's VVritings, makes the VVorld envy his Heirs Happineſs in the peruſing of his invaluable Labours, not yet made Publick. But as he has been pleaſed to gratifie it by bringing out the Manuſcripts from whence this Volume is faithfully Publiſhed; ſo we ſtill expect to ſee the reſt of 'em drawn from their Obſcurity, to oblige and further Mankind in his Eternal warfare.

The

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THE

THE KNOWLEDGE OF CHRIST CRUCIFIED.

PART II.

IN what precedes, we have considered the Advantages and Benefits, which, together with *Christ*, we Receive, relating to a Christian's Estate in his Life in this World, and in his passage out of it. The last Act of his being here, if it may be called an Act, is his Death. And therein we have consider'd the Victory of *Christ* over Death, and the Transferring of the Advantages of that Victory to us; whereby the Fear of Death, and the Damage of Death are removed:

and that which was before the Curſe of our Nature, is become our Gain: Not ſimply in it ſelf; but in relation to what follows after it, *viz.* The State and Condition of the Soul and Body after Death: which is next to be conſidered.

Such is the Abſolute Perfection of God, that he hath his Bleſſedneſs and Self ſufficiency with himſelf. He is Eternally full of his own Goodneſs, which is Eſſentially the ſame with Himſelf, an Infinite Good commenſurate to an Infinite Deſire, and always Preſent. So that nothing without himſelf adds any thing to him, or is deſired by him, in relation to his Bleſſedneſs. All Good comes from him, and returns into him, as into that Ocean from whence it moved.

But all dependent Beings, as they have not their Being from themſelves, but from God: ſo they have not their Bleſſedneſs or Happineſs eſſentially *in* themſelves, becauſe not *from* themſelves. They are Veſſels receptive of their Good, from him that is the Author of their being potential Beings, not pure Acts: that are conſtituted in ſuch a degree, that they are rather Paſſive in receiving Good into them, than Active in filling themſelves with their own Good. They are thin and empty, till they are fil'ed with their Objects, and are diverſified in the Happineſs or Unhappineſs of their Beings, and in the degrees of either, according to the nature of the Objects with which they are filled, and the different degrees and meaſures of their Unions to them.

The Good ſuitable to an Intellectual Nature muſt firſt be known, before it can be deſired: and, according to the poſition or ſtation of ſuch Good, it works differently upon the Soul, and the Soul moves

moves towards it in a different manner. If considered meerly as absent, it raiseth Desire; which is a reaching out of the Soul towards an Union with that Known Good: If absent, and upon probable or sure grounds expected, then it joyns unto Desire, Hope; which, according to the variety of the *Medium*, upon which the Expectation is grounded, is the more feeble and weak, having less Assurance, and consequently more Fear mingled with it: Or the more strong and firm, having a stronger Assurance, and consequently less Fear mingled with it. This is a kind of Middle Affection, being mingled with desire to the Good as Absent, and delight in it as Pre apprehended, and so in some degree Present. The Good that is expected, though it be not absolutely present, yet it is looked upon as in a nearer Conjunction to the Power, than if it were not at all expected Hope hath this Property, or Power in it, that it Unites an Absent Object, if expected, unto the Power, by Pre apprehension, though it cannot in Actual Fruition: And hence it is said, Heb 11. 1. *That Faith*, which is in effect the firmest kind of Hope, *is the substance of things hoped for*. It makes a kind of Pre existence of the Thing unto it self, and fetcheth back Futurity to a kind of Presence. But if the Good be Really Present, and not only Expected; then the Affection that is wrought in the Soul is Delight. Though the Soul be moved toward the Thing it Enjoyeth with Desire, yet the Enjoyment still filleth the Desire. There is a continual and mutual action of the Desire upon the Object, and of the Object unto the Desire, and so there is a Perpetual Motion, and yet a Perpetual Rest: the Desire moving it self to the Object, and the Object

immediately ſatisfying the Deſire, becauſe preſent and enjoyed: and from that Mutual Action of the Power and the Object one upon the other, ariſeth Delight, Complacency, and Contentment.

That which is the chiefeſt Good of the Creature, when known, cannot chooſe but work moſt effectually upon theſe Motions of the Soul, and draw out theſe Affections of the Soul, in the moſt eminent and effectual meaſure. A ſmall Good doth draw out a meaſure of Deſire unto it, Hope for it, and Delight in it; but ſtill in a ſmaller meaſure. For the Soul muſt needs reſerve ſomewhat for ſome other Good that is more adequate to its Power: But if the Good be adequate to the Power, then it muſt of neceſſity draw out the moſt intenſe motion of the Soul to it: and conſequently the greater the Good is, the greater muſt be the Deſire of it, if Abſent; the Hope of it, if expected; the Delight in it, if Enjoyed: Becauſe the Object is not too narrow for the Power, but Commenſurate to it, and filleth it ſo, that in effect there is no reſidue of Power left to move towards any thing elſe but it, or at leaſt in ſubordination to it.

The greateſt Good that an Intellectual Creature can poſſibly have, and that which alone is Commenſurate to it, is to have its ſelf filled with the Manifeſtation of the Truth, Glory, Goodneſs, and Bounty of God. All other things are too narrow to fill the power and capacity of the Soul. This alone being Infinite, is Commenſurate, and more than Commenſurate to that Power, and in order unto which, that Power or Receptivity was planted in the Soul, *viz.* To enjoy God according to that Meaſure and Manner that the Creature is capable of. And this is the true and only Bleſſed-

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neſs of Man: and conſequently muſt needs draw from the Soul the moſt Ardent Deſire, the moſt Comfortable Expectation or Hope, and the moſt abſolute Delight and Contentment. For herein as the Soul moves towards an Object that is natural to it, *viz.* Good; ſo it moves toward it, as towards the moſt natural, ſuitable, commenſurate Good unto it, and conſequently in the intenſeſt degree of its Power and Ability.

Though the Enjoyment of God be the Happineſs and Perfection of the Creature, becauſe it, and it alone, fills that Vacuity and Receptivity of the Powers of the Soul: Yet if thoſe Powers of the Soul be indiſpoſed, unfit and diſordered, uncapable of that Bleſſed Object; Though there wants not an Object to make it Bleſſed, yet there wants a Means of Uniting that Object to the Soul, at leaſt to communicate it ſelf unto it in that perfect meaſure that may make it perfectly Bleſſed. If the Sight be dim and imperfect, though the Object be never ſo Beautiful, and the *Medium* never ſo Light, yet the Object is not united to the Power, at leaſt in that perfection it ſhould be. If there be an Intelligible Object never ſo Glorious, and fit to be known, yet if the Underſtanding be dark, the Union is not wrought, or ſo perfectly wrought between the Underſtanding and the Object. If the Object of the Will be never ſo amiable, adequate, uſeful, good; yet if the Will be ſet upon filthineſs, impurity, or any unworthy Object; or if any impurity be mingled with it, the Power of the Will doth not receive, or at leaſt ſo genuinely receive, that Good that is propounded: And conſequently in a Soul thus diſtempered, there cannot ariſe that full deſire of the Soul after God, that

comfortable Hope or Expectation of the Enjoyment of him, nor that actual Fruition of him.

Our Lord *Jesus Christ*, the Eternal Son of God, the Prince of Peace, that came into the World to restore God to the Service and Honour of his Creature, and to restore Man to the Fruition of his Creator, and consequently to his Blessedness, in order to this great end.

First, Hath in some measure cured and healed the Distempers of our Souls, and the Powers of them; that so they may move regularly, even in this Life, towards this Blessed Union, The Enjoyment of God in our Desires.

Secondly, He hath obtained for us a State of Perfection of Soul and Body after Death, whereby we may be fit to receive and enjoy God in Perfection: know him as we are known; Love him, and Receive him.

Thirdly, He hath obtained for us a most full Communication of God unto Man, even in the fullest compass of his Power and Capacity to receive him in that State after Death.

Fourthly, He hath fully described that Blessed Condition in the Enjoyment of God in that Life to come, and revealed it unto us, and Sealed unto us the Assurance of it, by the Truth of God and his own Resurrection.

Now because in order of Nature, the Act of Understanding to Know, doth go before the Motions

tions of the Will and Affections, to desire or hope for the Object that is desired or hoped for And because in order of Nature, the Thing or Object that is to be known hath a priority to the Act of the Understanding whereby it is known; though in point of Execution, or actual Existence, the Object may be future and subsequent to the Act whereby it is known: Therefore we shall in the first place consider the Estate of a Christian after Death, and the Privilege that with and by *Christ* he shall then receive: that so it being known, it may be desired, hoped for, and in due time perfectly enjoyed.

There is therefore considerable a Four-fold Estate of a Christian after Death.

1. The State of the Soul and Body from the Instant of Separation until the time of his Resurrection.

2. The State of the Soul and Body from the Instant of the Resurrection until the Judgment.

3. The State of the Body and Soul thus Reunited in the Time of the Judgment.

4. The State of the Body and Soul after Judgment unto all Eternity.

These are Secrets that never lay within the reach or discovery of the Light of Nature, Job 38. 17. *Have the Gates of Death been opened unto thee*: The State of that Region hath been locked up from the

knowledge of Mankind in this Life: and no more is discovered or discoverable unto us, than what it hath pleased the God of Nature in the Scriptures to reveal and discover unto us: So far we may go; farther than that we may not, cannot see: and all other Conclusions, farther than warranted by that Light, may prove dangerous Untruths, often prove Presumptuous Curiosities, but at the best are but uncertain Conjectures, which want bottom enough to build our Desires, Hopes, or Expectations upon. And herein therefore we must ever magnifie the Excellency of the Scriptures, and the Great Mercy of God in giving them unto us, whereby those Truths are discovered that are of infinite concernment unto us, and that from the Finger of God himself, who alone could discover them: wherein all the Disquisitions and Conclusions of Natural Reason, or Human Learning, are short and defective. This is a Learning that no other means can teach us but Divine Revelation; a Continent that no other Map can describe, nor no other Light can discover unto us, but the Word of God himself: If we guide not our selves by this Thread, we lose our selves in the Discourse or Contemplation of it.

1. Therefore, concerning the State of Body and Soul after Death, till the Re-union of both in the Resurrection.

The Word of God shews us the Principles of Man, his Body and Soul, Gen. 2. 7. *He formed Man of the dust of the ground, and breathed into his nostrils the breath of life, and Man became a living Soul.* These two Pieces of different Extractions he so closely and wisely united together, that they made but

but one Piece: and ſo far advanced the corruptible part, the Body, that it was indued with an actual incorruption; ſubject indeed to a Tranſlation, but not to a Diſſolution, Corruption, or Separation, but only by the means of Sin.

But Sin entered into the World, and Death by Sin —— Natural Death as well as Eternal Death. It did deprive the Body of that Incorruption that the power of God had annexed to it, though of its own nature otherwiſe Corruptible: And though it did not ſubject that Immortal part, the Soul, unto Corruption or Annihilation; yet, as it ſtood in relation to the Body, and as the Body and Soul made but one Man, ſo it ſubjected the Man to a Diſſolution, a ſeparation of thoſe Two Parts, which did conſtitute him one Reaſonable Creature. The Body became ſubject to Corruption, not Annihilation; the Soul to the Curſe, not to Corruption; and the Body and Soul as conſtituting one Man, to Death or Diſſolution. So then, Death Separating theſe Two Conſtitutive parts of Man, his Body and his Soul; we will conſider how, after the Death, the ſtate of either ſtands, as to ſuch as are truly united unto *Chriſt Jeſus*, and to God by him.

1. As to the Body; It is true, the Body after the Diſſolution or Separation from the Soul, corrupts, and, as the Wiſe Man ſaith, *Returns to his Earth*, Eccleſ. 12. 7. Gen. 3. 19. *Duſt thou art, and unto Duſt thou ſhalt return.* And yet, *this Fleſh reſteth in hope*, Pſal. 16. 9. The Hope and Aſſurance of a Reſurrection to Life, Job 19. 26. *Though after my skin worms deſtroy this Body, yet in my fleſh I ſhall ſee God.* And doubtleſs, as an Evidence and Effect of this Aſſurance it was, that not only by a Natural

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or Moral inſtinct, or Cuſtom, but even with ſome mixture of Religious Obſervance it was, that the Antient Patriarchs took that Solemn Care of preſerving their Duſt, *Gen.* 23. 4. *Abraham* takes more care for a fixed Burying-place, than for a fixed place of Living, *Gen.* 49. 29. *Jacob* gives a charge to his Sons to Bury him with his Father, *Gen.* 50. 25. *Joſeph* ſecures, with an Oath, the Tranſportation of his Bones: Not out of any doubt of God's Power to recollect thoſe Bones, though ſcattered over the World; but to leave a kind of Teſtimonial of that Aſſurance of a Bleſſed Reſurrection; and that even in thoſe Bones there lay a Depoſitum or Pledge thereof, Iſai. 65. 8. *Deſtroy them not, for there is a Bleſſing in them.*

But to come a little nearer to that Privilege, that even the Bodies of ſuch as are united to *Chriſt*, have in this ſtate of Separation, and ſeeming Corruption.

1. Thoſe very Dead Bodies, though they put on Corruption, and crumble into Duſt, yet that very Duſt is under a ſpecial Care and Providence of God. And as *their Death is precious in his ſight*, Pſal. 116. 15. ſo is their Duſt not neglected. The Blood of Righteous *Abel*, though ſpilt upon the Ground, yet had a Voice that the God of Heaven heard, *Gen.* 4 10. And he, that whiles they lived, *Numbred the hairs of their heads*, Matth. 10. 30. thoſe ſeemingly unneceſſary Excretions of the Body, hath no leſs care of their Duſt, which he hath reſerved for a Glorious Reſurrection. When that Evil Angel would have injured the Deceaſed Body of *Moſes*, and abuſed it, to be an Inſtrument of Superſtition, or ſome other unworthy uſe, an Arch-Angel was

was employed to prevent it, *Jude* 9. And therefore if I ſhould foreſee, that by Fury or Malice of Men, or any other Permiſſion, or Diſpenſation of Divine Providence, my Body ſhould be mangled into a Thouſand pieces, or be reſolved into Smoak and Aſhes, and thoſe Aſhes ſcattered into the Wind, or Ocean; yet even in relation to this Body of mine, my Fleſh ſhould reſt in Hope: becauſe that All ſeeing-Eye of God, can follow the moſt ſubtil parts of this my diſſolved Carcaſs, and purſue them from place to place till they ſhall be Lodged: And that Almighty Power of God, by that effectual ſound of the Laſt Trump, ſhall and will Re-ſummon all thoſe ſcattered Atomes, and call them together from their remoteſt diſſipation, and re-unite them again in a Glorious Reſurrection.

2. Thoſe very Dead Bodies are not by Death wholly diſunited from *Chriſt*. It is very plain, that by Faith in *Chriſt* in this Life, the Whole Man is United unto *Chriſt*, and become a Member of his Myſtical Body: And though the Inſtrument whereby this Union is wrought, Faith on our part, and the Spirit of *Chriſt* on his part, have their more immediate Reſidence and Termination in the Soul; yet by vertue thereof there is wrought a Communication of ſome Privileges of that Union, unto the Body it ſelf, 1 Cor. 6. 15. *Know ye not that your Bodies are the Members of Chriſt?* 1 Cor. 6. 19. *Know ye not that your Bodies are the Temples of the Holy Ghoſt?* And therefore though by Death theſe Bodies taſte of Corruption, and return unto their Duſt; yet in as much as by the Body of *Chriſt* there is depoſited in this Duſt, a kind of Secrēt Seed of Immortality, this very Duſt is not totally

tally ſeparated from that Union it once had with its Head. And hence it was that when the Bleſſed Body of our Lord was laid in the Grave, and thereby Healed the Deadlineſs of it, it did, as it were, Diſſeminate, and Diffuſe into the Bodies of the Saints a kind of Virtue, or Energy; ſo that in the Reſurrection of our Saviour's Body, the Dead Bodies of the Saints, by ſecret Sympathy, as it were, with our Saviour's Body, and in Evidence of that Vital Power, which was derived into them, by virtue of that Union, as the dead Body by the touch of *Eliſha*'s Bones, 2 *Kings* 13. 21. They were quickned, and *entered into the Holy City, and appeared unto many*, Matth. 27. 53.

And upon this account likewiſe, I have a comfort in Death, even in relation to this Body of mine, my old Acquaintance, which I am now laying down in the Duſt: that though it be ſown in diſhonour, and muſt turn into Duſt; yet my Lord, to whom by Faith I am united, looks upon this Duſt, as that wherein he owns a Property, 1 *Cor.* 6. 20. as that which was and ſhall be a Member of his own Myſtical Body; as that which is precious in his ſight, and was Redeemed from Corruption by no leſs a Price than his own Death, And as that which ſhall in a perfect Union with that other, though Nobler Part, enjoy Eternal Happineſs, and the fulneſs of Joy for ever. And thus we ſhall leave the Body in this State of Reſt and Hope, till the ſecond Appearance of our Lord.

Secondly, Concerning the ſtate of the Soul in Separation after Death, until the Reſurrection, and the Benefits we have therein by the Union with *Chriſt*:

Christ: And herein so far as the Word of God sheweth us, so far we may and must go: If we go farther, we are in the dark; and Conjectures are dangerous and uncertain, and such as we cannot build any found Hope or Comfort upon. The Hope of a Christian is or should be, *a lively hope*, 1 Pet. 1. 3. *A firm hope*, and joyned with Confidence and Assurance, *Heb.* 3. 6. An Operative Hope, working the Heart to a Temper and Constitution suitable to it, 1 John 33. *He that hath this Hope purifieth himself.* A Hope that we may give a Man a *reasonable* account of, 1 *Pet.* 3. 15. And such a Hope as this is, must be bottomed upon living, sound, evident Principles. Conjectures, and Philosophical Discourses of things, that are not within the Help of a Natural *Medium*, to discover or climb up unto, breed but a weak faint Perswasion or Opinion, and therefore cannot be a Foundation of such a Hope. It is only Divine Revelation that can discover the thing in hand, or lay a foundation for such a Hope as makes not ashamed. So far therefore as the Scriptures of God reveal unto us, so far have we a sound Foundation of Faith and Hope in the matter in hand. And, from them we learn,

1. That from the instant of Death, until the Resurrection, there is a State of the Separated Soul: and that it hath an Abiding Being, and Subsistence, notwithstanding such Separation; and this will most clearly appear by what follows.

2. That that State of the Soul of a True Christian, is, from the instant of its Separation, a State free from all Sin: And this freedom from Sin is not

not only a freedom from the Guilt and Imputation of Sin (for ſuch a State the Soul hath in this Life) but a freedom from the Stain and Adherence of all Sin. Whiles the Soul hath its reſidence in the Body, there are two contrary Principles that move it, and work upon it. The Spirit and Grace of *Chriſt* working the Soul to the Likeneſs and Similitude of *Chriſt*, faſhioning him in the Heart, and reforming it to the Image of God: And on the other ſide, the Sinful and Fleſhly Appetite ſtrugling to retain its domination and rule over the Soul, and bringing it into ſubjection to the Law of Sin. And from theſe contrary Principles ariſeth a continual ſtrife and contention in the Soul; Either Principle having ſome footing and ground in the Faculties and Powers of the Soul, Galat. 5. 17. *The Fleſh luſteth againſt the Spirit, and the Spirit luſteth againſt the Fleſh, and theſe are contrary one to the other, ſo that ye cannot do the things ye would.* And from hence it is, though in the beſt of Men there be a prevalence of the Power of Grace in the Soul; So that the *Domination* and Power of the Fleſh be controlled, *Rom.* 6. 14. and not only ſo, but the *Fleſh is Crucified*, brought into Subjection, Gal. 5. 24. *They that are Chriſt's have Crucified the Fleſh, with the Affections and Luſts*, yet ſtill the Fleſh continues.

1. As an Impediment to the full and free working of the Spirit of God, or rather of the Soul to move according to it; for it is clogged with *a Body of Death*, Rom. 7. 24. Matth. 26. 41. *The Spirit is willing, but the Fleſh is weak.* The Body and Soul, like *Mezentius* his Couples, conſiſting of a Dead and earthy part, as well as of a Living and Spiri-

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tual part, whereby we cannot do the thing we would.

2. Notwithstanding the Prevailing Power of Grace in the Soul, the Flesh continues not only a Passive Impediment, as I may call it, but it hath still left in it a Counter-motion, it Lusteth against the Spirit; and though the Spirit of Grace be the Prevailing Principle, yet the contrary Motion of a contrary Principle, cannot choose but impede and retard the Power of the contrary Motion, though it cannot altogether frustrate it: As we see when the Tyde comes in upon a Fresh River, though the Tyde prevail, yet the contrary Motion of the River doth hinder and retard the Tyde in its Motion; though it cannot Conquer, yet it Interrupts it.

3. And not only so, but sometimes even in the best of Men, that natural Corruption of the Flesh, which grows Sullen by being Over-match'd with the Powerful Work of Grace upon the Soul, and seems dead: yet the Opportunity of a Temptation revives that seeming Dead Lust that was in us, that sometimes it returns upon them with Advantage. And so *this Law in the Members warring against the Law of the Mind*, by the Opportunity and Animation of a Temptation, brings us into Captivity *to the Law of Sin which is in our Members*, Rom. 7. 23. So that the best of Men neglecting their Guard, and being secure, have been, by this Law in the Flesh, Actuated by a Temptation, brought into the Commission of the worst of Sins.

So that the great hindrance to the through and perfect Sanctification of the Soul in this Life, is pri-

principally by the Adherence of the Body unto it; and consequently of those Lusts and Passions that do accompany that Body. But by Death the Impediment is removed, the Counter-motion of the Flesh abolished, the Opportunity of Temptation by it taken away, and nothing doth hinder or retard the Soul from being Actuated, Moved, and Habituated, according to that Prevailing Principle of the Grace of *Christ*, which it had in it in this Life, and carries with it out of this Life: and in the Instant of the Dissolution, the whole I even of Natural Corruption is cleansed out of the Soul: And *he that is thus dead is free from Sin*, Rom 6. 7.

In this Life the Grace of *Christ* is as it were Fashioning and Moulding the Soul unto his Likeness: And because the Flesh is a great Enemy unto this Work, our Lord's Counsel is, still to Weaken, Abate and Mortifie the Flesh, that hinders and interrupts the Energy and Work of the Spirit of God: So that we should, as much as may be, Die while we Live. The Day of Death is, as it were, the Birth-day of the Soul, when it falls off as a Seed that is ripe, and drops into a place of rest, and there it spends as it were, its Infancy, till it be ready for the Consummation of its happiness in the Resurrection. But still in that instant of Separation, it is like the Children of Tribulation, Revel. 7. 12. *Cloathed with White Robes*, dipped in the Blood of *Christ*, and Sanctified throughout by the Spirit of *Christ*.

Thirdly, The Soul united unto *Christ*, immediately upon her Separation from the Body, is Translated into a place of Rest, and enjoys a Condition free from all Trouble, Sorrow and Misery, *Revel.* 14. 13. *They rest from their labours, and their works follow them.*

Fourthly,

Fourthly, The Soul doth not only enjoy a Negative Happineſs, an Abſence of all Miſery; but, in the very Inſtant of the Diſſolution is Tranſlated to a condition of Bleſſedneſs Commenſurate to the Capacity of the Soul; and enjoys the Viſion of *Chriſt* in Glory, in a place of Glory and Happineſs, *Luke* 17. 24. *Lazarus's Soul was carried into Abraham's Boſom*, and there did reſt before the laſt Judgment: for the Rich Man's Brethren were then upon the Earth: Which, though it be a Parable, yet it imports the Bleſſed State of a Separate Soul, even before the laſt Judgment.

And that this is ſo, our Saviour's words upon the Croſs unto the Crucified Thief import, *Luke* 23. 43. *Verily I ſay unto thee, to day thou ſhalt be with me in Paradiſe.* Wherein we have, Firſt, The Time; *To Day:* before the Reſurrection. Secondly, The Place; *In Paradiſe:* which is the very place of the Bleſſed: that which 2 *Cor.* 12. 2 is called *the third Heaven*, Verſ. 4. is called *Paradiſe.* And Thirdly, The Preſence; *with me in Paradiſe*, where the Glorious Soul of *Chriſt* was, 2 Cor. 5. 8. *We are confident, and willing to be abſent from the Body, and to be preſent with the Lord.* Parallel to which, *Philip.* 1. 23. *Having a deſire to depart, and to be with Chriſt, which is far better.* There is not a mean inſtant between the departure from the Body, and the local Preſence with *Chriſt.* And certainly, the Soul enjoying the Preſence of *Chriſt*, cannot want the Fullneſs of Happineſs. The Soul muſt needs receive a continual Irradiation from his Glory: a continual Stream of Comfort and Delight muſt needs flow into the Soul from his Preſence, the clear Manifeſtation of his Love and Favour. But yet according to the Meaſure of the Capacity of the

Soul to receive, muſt needs be the Meaſure of what it receives: And therefore, doubtleſs, as the Soul in the State of Separation, cannot have the ſame Meaſure of Perfection as it ſhall have in its Re-union in the Reſurrection; ſo conſequently it cannot receive the like Meaſure of Bleſſedneſs as it then ſhall receive. Though the Bleſſedneſs be the ſame in Kind, and the ſame in Meaſure, yet the Soul hath not the ſame capacity to receive it, as when it is re-united perfectly to a perfect Body, by which the Soul will be enabled to act more perfectly than it did, or could in the ſtate of Separation. The Soul enjoys a fullneſs of Comfort, and Reſt, and Bleſſedneſs in the preſence of *Chriſt*, according to the utmoſt capacity that it hath: But as her capacity, and the excellence of her operation ſhall be improved in the Reſurrection, ſo ſhall the meaſure of her Happineſs: The fullneſs and perfection of her fruition is reſerved till then, Coloſſ. 3. 3. *Our Life is hid with Chriſt in God. When Chriſt, who is our Life, ſhall appear, then ſhall we appear with him in Glory.* 1 John 3. 2. *Now we are the Sons of God, and it doth not yet appear what we ſhall be: but we know that when he ſhall appear, we ſhall be like unto him: for we ſhall ſee him as he is.* The perfect Viſion of *Chriſt* is referred till his laſt Appearance; and conſequently the perfect Meaſure of our Glory and Bleſſedneſs. The Reception of that Glory into the Soul, is that which doth in a manner Transfigure, and Transform the Soul into the ſame Glory: and according to the Meaſure of that reception, ſo is the Meaſure of that Transformation. Here, in this Life, our Viſion of it is as it were in a Glaſs, and therefore our Conformity unto it is the leſs, and more imperfect: In the ſtate of Separation

paration of the Soul more is ſeen, and therefore the Soul more Irradicated: But in the Re-union of the Soul and Body, the State of the Soul is more perfect, and the Viſion therefore more perfect, and conſequently the Glory of the Soul and Body more perfect. Then we ſhall behold with open Face (not in a Glaſs as here) the Glory of the Lord: and ſo ſhall be changed into the ſame Image from Glory to Glory, as by the Spirit of the Lord. 2 *Cor.* 3. 18. *We ſhall be like him, for we ſhall ſee him as he is.* The ſeeing of *Chriſt* as he is, is that which Imprints a Glory upon the Soul, as the Sight of God in the Mount, Imprinted a Brightneſs upon *Moſes*'s Face: And the more perfectly we ſee him, the greater is our Conformity to him: the more we receive of him, the more likeneſs we receive unto him. In the State of Separation the Soul receives a clearer Viſion of *Chriſt*, than whilſt ſhe was in the Fleſh; but not ſo full a Viſion as ſhe ſhall in the Reſurrection. And therefore theſe Bleſſed Souls, *Revel.* 6. 9. are ſaid *to be under the Altar.* So that though they had White Robes given unto them, yet they were, as it were, in the Court of the Temple: though in a State of nearneſs unto *Chriſt*, a State of Bleſſedneſs Commenſurate to the Capacity of the Soul; yet not ſo fully and compleatly happy as in the Reſurrection, when the *Tabernacle of God ſhall be with Men*, Revel. 21. 3. So that to conclude, we think, that according to the Scriptures, though the fullneſs and Perfection of the Glory of the Saints is reſerved to the General Reſurrection at the Second Appearance of *Chriſt*; yet the Bleſſed Souls departed do, in the Inſtant of their Separation, enjoy the Preſence of *Chriſt*, and a Glorious Manifeſtation of his Glory and Preſence unto

them, in as full a Degree, and Measure of Happiness, as a Separate Soul is possibly capable of, and so much she is capable of, as makes her Happy and Glorious. And were there no more but this, it were enough not only to Conquer the Fear of Death, but to make it desirable to a Faithful Soul, so far as consists with our Submission to the Will of God, and that Duty of serving our Generation in this Life, which he requires of us.

There are Two Things that make us hang so much upon this Life, *viz.* *First*, The want of Faith, and Belief of this Truth of God, *viz.* That the Soul in the Immediate Instant of her Separation enjoys a State of Glory and Blessedness. The Shadow and Vale of Death doth interpose, and hinder our Souls from beholding that Country which is on the other side of that Vale. *Secondly*, The adherence of our Flesh, which doth and must know, that in the Region on the other side of Death, there is no room for it; no room for Sensual Pleasures and Delights, and Enjoyments, and therefore hangs back, and cannot with Patience think of it: And having in some measure tainted the Soul with those Affections and Lusts, makes her also unwilling to change her Station. And therefore I look upon Old Age as a great Blessing, even in this respect, that it wears out, and weakens those Strong Fleshly Corruptions, and Inclinations, which make us so much rest upon this Life: and gives us opportunity with less diversion of the Flesh, to entertain the Hopes and Expectation of the Blessed Estate of the Soul after death.

II. We come to consider the State of the Soul and Body, in and from the Instant of the Resurrection until

until the Laſt Judgment; and the Privilege that we have by *Chriſt* therein: And concerning it, thus far the Scriptures teach us to conclude.

1. That there ſhall be a Reſurrection of the Bodies of all Men. This appears by the Scriptures of both Teſtaments; though more clearly in the *New*: Our Lord *Jeſus* in the Goſpel *having brought Life and Immortality to light*, viz. That Great Myſtery of Life, and the Second Life and Immortality, which was more obſcurely delivered in the Old Teſtament, *Chriſt* hath Unveiled, and poſitively and plainly declared the ſame. *Balaam*, though a Wizard, yet by what means we know not, was Inlightned to ſee many Truths, and Tranſported, even beyond himſelf, in the aknowledgment of them: And he ſeems to acknowledge this Truth, ſpeaking of the *Star of Jacob*, Numb. 24. 17. *I ſhall ſee him, but not now.* Again, *Job*, who ſeems to be contemporary with that time, though none of the Twelve Tribes, but yet of the Children of *Abraham*, had this Truth by Tradition unqueſtionable, *Job* 19. 26, 27. *Though after my Skin, Worms deſtroy this Body, yet in my Fleſh ſhall I ſee God.* Iſaiah 26. 19. *Thy dead Men ſhall live, together with my dead Body ſhall they ariſe: Awake and ſing ye that dwell in the duſt: for thy dew is as the dew of Herbs, and the Earth ſhall caſt out the Dead. Thy dew is as the dew of Herbs*; a ſecret quickening quality, like that of the dew of Herbs, ſhall fall upon thoſe dead Materials, and give them Life, *Dan.* 12. 2. *Many of them that ſleep in the duſt of the Earth ſhall awake, ſome to everlaſting life, ſome to ſhame and everlaſting contempt. Many*, 1. Importing their Multitude, not excluding any. 2. *Many*, Becauſe we ſhall not all die, but we ſhall all be changed.

In the New Teſtament, this Truth is more clearly and diſtinctly aſſerted, *Matth.* 22. 29. Our Saviour particularly, and *ex propoſito* aſſerts it againſt the *Sadduces*, and declares the manner of their condition to be, *as the Angels of Heaven.* Again, *Matth.* 24. 31. He deſcribes the manner of it: *He ſhall ſend his Angels with a great ſound of a Trumpet, and they ſhall gather the Elect from the four Winds, from one end of Heaven unto the other.* Hence he calls them, Luke 20. 36. *Children of God, being Children of the Reſurrection.* And it is plain, that the Diſciples of *Chriſt* took this as an unqueſtionable Truth. *John* 11. 23. *Jeſus* ſaid unto her, *Thy Brother ſhall riſe again. Martha* ſaid unto him, *I know that he ſhall riſe again at the Reſurrection at the laſt day.* This great Truth, aſſerted by the *Phariſees*, contradicted by the *Sadduces*, Acts 28. 8. and unknown to the moſt Learned of the *Gentiles*; *Paul* moſt excellently diſcovereth and aſſerteth, in his Sermon to the *Athenians*, enforcing it from the *Power* and *Juſtice* of God: And though it had but a courſe entertainment at the firſt, for ſome Mocked, others declined the preſent Diſquiſition of it, *Acts* 17. 32. yet doubtleſs it was the moſt proper Point, to convince the Ignorant World of; it being ſuch a Truth, as muſt of neceſſity put them upon ſollicitous Enquiries of their Future State, and quite change all the vain Deciſions of the *Philoſophers*: and therefore this Subject *Paul* choſe to Diſpute upon in the *Academy* of *Greece*. And though the Doctrine ſeemed at firſt Novel and Incredible, yet it doubtleſs left ſome Jealous Impreſſions upon their Minds, of the Truth and Conſequents thereof: and that Jealouſie made them the apter to entertain the liſtening to thoſe Truths, which were in

order

order to it. When in the Church of *Corinth*, this Truth began to be called in Queſtion, the Apoſtle, 1 *Cor.* 15. undertakes a ſetled Diſcourſe of the Truth of it; which he evinceth by many Arguments: 1. From the Reſurrection of *Chriſt Jeſus*; which, *Firſt*, He proves by unqueſtionable Evidence: then Infers,

1. The Poſſibility of the Reſurrection.

2. The Neceſſity of it.

The Poſſibility, intimated thus; If *Chriſt* be riſen, then it is not impoſſible but the ſame Power may raiſe up us. But *Chriſt is riſen:* The former Propoſition is Evident; for it was no leſs than an Omnipotent Power, that was required to the Reſurrection of *Chriſt:* and more than an Omnipotent Power, is not, cannot be required to the Reſurrection of us. The Second Propoſition he evidenceth beyond all contradiction: He inſtances in Four ſeveral times of his Appearance after his Death; To *Cephas*: To the 12 *Diſciples*: To 500 *Brethren at once*: And to *himſelf*. And as thus the Poſſibility of our Reſurrection ſtands proved by the Reſurrection of *Chriſt:* So, *Secondly*, The Neceſſity of it; *Chriſt was declared the Son of God with Power, by the Reſurrection from the Dead*, Rom. 1. 4.

And the end of his Miſſion into the World muſt needs be ſome Work anſwerable to the Greatneſs of his Perſon, and the Wonderfulneſs of it: Certainly, that the Eternal Son of God ſhould take upon him our Fleſh, Live, Die, and Riſe again, and Aſcend into Heaven, could not chooſe but be for ſome notable end. A Wiſe Man never undertakes

any Great Action but for ſome Great End anſwerable to it: Much leſs certainly, would the Great God, the Fountain of all Wiſdom, undertake ſuch a buſineſs as this, but for an End ſuitable to it. Now the End of God's ſending of *Chriſt* into the World, is declared, *John* 3. 16. *God ſo loved the World, that he gave his only begotten Son, that whoſoever believeth in him ſhould not periſh, but have everlaſting Life.* But if there be no Reſurrection, God ſhall be diſappointed in this great End of the Miſſion of his Son: For it is evident, that in this Life, little advantage is wrought for the Diſciples of *Chriſt*. They meet with Perſecutions, Wants, Neceſſities, Barbarous Uſage, Untimely Death oftentimes, Verſ. 19. *If in this Life only we have hope, we are of all Men moſt miſerable.* And *if no Reſurrection, then they that are fallen aſleep in Chriſt are periſhed*, Verſ. 18.

Therefore ſince the Salvation of Men, was the End of the Miſſion of *Chriſt* into the World; The End of the Almighty and Wiſe God, who hath Infinite Wiſdom to contrive Means to compaſs his own ends; Infinite Power to effect and bring them to paſs, and to remove all Obſtacles that may hinder the effecting thereof: And ſince it is plain, that the Salvation of the Servants of *Chriſt*, is not in this World, but muſt of neceſſity be in ſome future State after this Life: And ſince neither the Light of Nature, nor the Light of Scripture, do ſhew us any other way, to the attaining of that happy Condition after this Life, in that full and compleat meaſure, but by the Reſurrection: Therefore there is a neceſſity of a Reſurrection, that Man might not loſe his Happineſs, nor God the Glory of his Wiſdom and Power, in the Redemption of Man by his own Son.

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The next Argument of the *Neceſſity* of our Reſurrection from the Reſurrection of *Chriſt*, ſtands in the Compariſon of *Chriſt* and *Adam* together; and the Relation that each have to their Dependants. *Adam* ſtood as a Mediator of the Firſt Covenant, for *Himſelf* and *All* his Seed: And hence it was, that by *His* Sin, death paſſed upon *Him*, and upon *All* his Poſterity. This is the ſcope of the Apoſtle here, *Verſ.* 22. and more fully and at large, *Rom.* 5. 12. *& ſequentibus.*

Now the Tranſition of Guilt and Death from *Adam* unto us, reſted upon a double Union between him and us. 1. An Union by Natural Generation. 2. An Union by way of Repreſentation. Both theſe were requiſite to transferr the diſadvantage of his Sin upon us. For if the former had been wanting, it had been an unreaſonable thing that the ſtipulation of him to whom I had no Relation, upon whom I had no dependance, to whom I gave no Commiſſion, ſhould inure to my diſadvantage. If the ſecond had been wanting, it had not been agreeable to that Rule of Juſtice, that the Lord himſelf was pleaſed to own, *Ezek.* 18. *The Son ſhall not bear the Iniquity of the Father.* And becauſe the Juſtice of this may the fuller appear, and the difference between the State of *Adam*, in relation to all his Poſterity, and the State of a Father now in Relation to his Children; We may conſider theſe differences.

1. *Adam* was conſtituted in ſo perfect and free a condition, that he was moſt exquiſitely fitted to be the Mediator of a Covenant, between God and himſelf, and all his Poſterity. But *our* Parents are not conſtituted in ſuch a condition, they want that Per-

Perfection of Knowledge, and Freedom of Will, as was in our First Parents. Since the Fall, the Descendants from *Adam* are corrupted in their Wills, and in their Judgments; and so not fit to be Representatives for the binding of their Posterity, as *Adam* was.

2. As *Adam* was a Representative for his Posterity for their *Ill*, in Case of *Disobedience*; so he was for their *Good*, in case of *Obedience*. A Stock of Blessedness Transmissible to his Posterity, was deposited freely, By the Free Goodness of God, without any desert in Man, for the advantage of him and all his Descendants: For it is most evident, that even in the State of Innocence, the Law of Propagation of his kind, was given to Man as well as to the other Creatures, *Gen.* 1. 28. So that as his Posterity might have had *disadvantage* by his Fall, so they might have *advantage*, in case he continued in his Integrity, *viz.* the Transmission of that happy and perfect Condition that *Adam* had, subject nevertheless to a Personal Liberty, as *Adam* was. But it is not so now with us: Our Parents can Transmit to us their Posterity, nothing but a State of Sin, and Defect, and Misery: So that as they are unfit to be Mediators, or Representatives for us, in respect of their Defect; So it were unequal they should be such, because they would be necessarily Mediators to our *Disadvantage*, not possibly to our *Advantage*.

3. Again, a Representative, or Mediator between God and Man, could not be without the Institution and Acceptation of God; he having filled our First Parents with such Ability and Equality,

lity, was pleaſed to accept him as a Stipulator for himſelf and his Deſcendants, and conſtitute him ſuch. But he hath not ſo appointed in other Deſcendants from him. And herein we may ſee the Juſtice and Goodneſs of God, who, though he be the Abſolute, and Uncontrollable Lord of all his Creatures, to whom he is not bound by any Rule of Juſtice; yet when he was pleaſed to take *Adam* for a common Stipulator, for his Poſterity as well as Himſelf, he fits him with moſt Exquiſite Purity, Wiſdom, and Ability, ſuch as could never be overmatched by his Poſterity, had he continued in Innocence; and puts into his hand a full Stock of Bleſſedneſs for him and his Deſcendants, before he admits him to Stipulate for the Good or Evil of his Poſterity. But when that fails, as it doth with the Deſcendants from *Adam*, his Rule of Juſtice is, *The Son ſhall not bear the Iniquity of the Father.*

Thus far we ſee the Union, between *Adam* and us, whereby, while he ate the Bitter Fruits, our Teeth are ſet on Edge; and yet Almighty God moſt exactly juſt therein. Now our Lord *Chriſt* became a Second *Adam*, the Mediator of the Second Covenant: *As in* Adam *all die, ſo in Chriſt ſhall all be made alive*, Verſ. 22. Now as God was pleaſed to put into the Hands of the Firſt *Adam*, a Stock of Life, and Bleſſedneſs, under a Covenant for him and his Poſterity, which were included in him by the Law of Natural Generation; ſo he put into the Hands of *Chriſt*, the Mediator of the Second Covenant, a Stock of Life and Bleſſedneſs for his Seed, by Supernatural Regeneration, *Verſ.* 47. *As the Firſt* Adam *was made a living Soul, ſo the Second was made a quickning Spirit*, John 5. 26. As the Father hath life in himſelf, ſo hath he given to the Son

Son to have life in himſelf: a quickening Life, John 5. 21. *The Son quickeneth whom he will.* Quickening not only to a Life of Grace here, but to a Life of Immortality and Glory hereafter. *John* 6. 54. *Whoſo eateth my fleſh, and drinketh my blood, hath eternal life, and I will raiſe him up at the laſt day,* Verſ. 57. *As I live by the Father, ſo he that eateth me, ſhall live by me.* A Life as in the Fountain habitually there, but actually exerciſing it ſelf in the Branches united to him, *John* 11. 25. *I am the Reſurrection, and the Life, whoſoever believeth in me, tho' he were dead yet ſhall he live.* And as the Life that is in the Root, is that which gives Life to the Branch, and the means of deriving this Life is the Union between the Stock and the Branch, and the Interception of this Life from the Branch, is the Diſunion or Separation of the Branch from the Root; ſo that Life of Grace in the Soul, and of Immortality in the Reſurrection, is by virtue of this Union with the Root *Chriſt*, *John* 15. 5. *I am the Vine, ye are the Branches. He that abideth in me, and I in him, the ſame bringeth forth much fruit.* And as the Life of the Branch is hid in the Root, ſo our Life is hid with God in *Chriſt*, Coloſſ. 3. 3. Now becauſe Union is the means of our everlaſting Life in *Chriſt*, as it was of Temporal and Everlaſting Death in *Adam*; So we ſhall find between *Chriſt* and his Branches, a Parallel Union to that between *Adam* and his Poſterity. 1. An Union, though not by way of Natural Generation, yet by way of Supernatural Regeneration: As *Adam* had his Seed, ſo *Chriſt* hath his Seed, Iſai. 53. 10. *He ſhall ſee his Seed.* John 3. 3. *Except a Man be born again, he cannot ſee the Kingdom of God.* Born of an Immortal Seed, 1 *Pet.* 1. 23. *Being born not of a Corruptible Seed, but*

of

of Incorruptible, by the word of God, which liveth and abideth for ever. Formed into the Image of *Chriſt* the Immortal Son of God. Fed with an Immortal Food. *John* 6. 51. *I am the living bread which came down from Heaven: if any Man eat of this bread, he ſhall live for ever.* And this Immortality reſteth upon this ground, *John* 6. 56. *He that eateth my fleſh, and drinketh my blood, dwelleth in me, and I in him.* That is, is united to me, as the Branch is to the Root: And that Life that is in the Root is tranſmitted into the Branch: And it ſhall be as impoſſible for that Branch to die, as long as it ſtands thus united, as it is impoſſible for the Root to die.

But ſtill this is a Spiritual Union, a Conjunction of the Soul and Spirit unto *Chriſt*. The Union between *Adam* and his Poſterity, and between *Chriſt* and his Seed, agree in this, that they were both Unions unto them as to the Root: And by virtue of that Union, there was a Tranſmiſſion of their Conditions to thoſe that were thus united unto them. Death from *Adam* to his Seed; Life by *Chriſt* to his Seed. Yet the manner of that Union differs: That, a Birth of the Fleſh; this, a Birth of the Spirit. *John* 3. 6. *That which is born of the Fleſh is Fleſh, and that which is born of the Spirit is Spirit.* John 6. 63. *The words that I ſpeak, they are Spirit, and they are Life.* This therefore is that Poſterity, as I may call them, of *Chriſt Jeſus*, not born of the Fleſh, but of the Spirit, *viz.* ſuch as by his Grace ſent into, and everlaſtingly abiding in their Souls, are wrought to the Love of God by him, to the Obedience of his Will, to a Conformity to *Chriſt* the Image of the Inviſible God, in all the Inclinations, Diſpoſitions, and Habits of their Souls: and ſo tranſplanted from that State of Rebellion

bellion and Diſobedience unto God, into the Kingdom of God, and the voluntary ſubjection unto his Will, in which they are preſerved by the ſame abiding Spirit of *Chriſt*, that reſides in them, and will go along with them through Death. And this Seed of Life abiding in them, will at laſt quicken the Body, and raiſe it up unto Eternal Life, in a perpetual Conjunction with the Soul, as it did quicken the Body of *Chriſt*, and reſumed it into an inſeparable bleſſed Union with his Soul unto all Eternity.

And as thus the Union between *Chriſt* and a Believer, by Supernatural Regeneration, ſtands parallel to that between *Adam* and his Poſterity, by Natural Generation; So there is alſo an Union of Repreſentation between *Chriſt* and thoſe that believe on him: differing in this; That whereas *Adam* repreſented his Poſterity without any actual choice of theirs, but only as they were virtually included in him; But in this Repreſentative, *Chriſt Jeſus*, *Firſt*, There is a voluntary Suſception of his: He freely undertakes the buſineſs of this Great Covenant between God and Man: Receives all Good for them from him: Receives and undertakes to bear all their Evil for them. And thus he loved us firſt; and we choſe not him, but he choſe us. But, *Secondly*, Being drawn unto him by the Power of God: *For none comes unto him except the Father draw him*, John 6. 44. then we run after him. And *his People become willing in the day of his Power*, Pſal. 110. and then as he chooſeth us for his Redeemed, ſo we choſe him for our Mediator: Venture our loſs and gain upon his Negotiation with the Father for us: venture our Souls upon his Fidelity and Intereſt in the Father: *If we periſh we periſh*: If

we

we live we live. Swear dependance *upon*; ſubmiſſion *unto* him; Obedience to his Command; Faith in his Promiſes. And thus he becomes our Mediator, our Repreſentative with God, by our own choice; though that choice of ours be not wrought by our own ſtrength. And ſo there is wrought this Civil Union between *Chriſt* and the Believer, by the Mutual Stipulation of either: *Chriſt* undertaking to be his Peace-maker, and he undertaking to caſt himſelf upon him for Life and for Salvation.

Now to inforce the Neceſſity of the Reſurrection upon this conſideration, Verſe 28. *As in Adam all die: ſo in Chriſt ſhall all be made alive.* Thus he was *the figure of him that was to come.* Rom. 5. 14. The Argument ſtands thus: God was pleaſed to give unto the Firſt *Adam*, a Stock of Immortality and Bleſſedneſs tranſmiſſible from him to his Poſterity: under a Covenant, that if he ſtood in his Integrity, that this Bleſſedneſs ſhould be tranſmitted to his Poſterity: If he broke the Covenant, then, inſtead of Bleſſedneſs and Immortality, both he and his Poſterity ſhould loſe that Bleſſedneſs and Life, and become ſubject to Temporal and Eternal Death and Miſery. *Chriſt*, the Second *Adam*, made a new Covenant with God for his Seed, for a Reſtitution of Life and Bleſſedneſs unto them: And here is the difference which is to our advantage: the Life and Bleſſedneſs was not reſtored in this Life, but in a Life that ſhould ſucceed after this. The Covenant between God and our Firſt Parents was more *Literal*, and the Fruit of it, a Life here without Miſery, and a Tranſlation into Glory: The Covenant in *Chriſt* more *Spiritual*, and the Fruit of it, a Life here, in the Love of God, and a Reſurrection after Death unto Glory.

And

And the Reſurrection of our Saviour was a Pledge of our Reſurrection: *He became the firſt-fruits of them that ſlept:* And alſo a cauſe of our Reſurrection. We are riſen together with him, by virtue of our Union unto him, as of the Members unto the Head: His Reſurrection is ours, by virtue of our Union unto him, by way of Participation, and ſhall be the cauſe of our Reſurrection in a Perſonal Fruition. It is not conſiſtent with the Perfection of the Workings of God, that our Head ſhould live in Glory and Incorruption, and yet his Members be cloathed with Rottenneſs and Corruption. Therefore as Chriſt our Head, in whom our Life is hid, hath Conquered Death by his Reſurrection; ſo in due time ſhall we that are his Members. Yet 1 Cor. 15. 23. *Every Man in his own order: Chriſt the firſt-fruits; and afterwards they that are Chriſt's at his coming.*

The next Argument of the Apoſtles, though ſecretly intimated, is from the *Juſtice* of God, who is Holy in all his Ways, and Righteous in all his Works. Verſe 30, 31, 32, 33, 34. *If after the manner of Men, I have fought with Beaſts at Epheſus, what advantageth it me if the dead riſe not? Let us eat and drink, for to morrow we ſhall die.* As if he ſhould thus ſay; The Doctrine of *Chriſt* is a Doctrine full of Purity, Holineſs and Juſtice: ſuch a Doctrine as even the Heathens themſelves cannot chooſe but admire: And as far out-goes the exacteſt Morals of the ſevereſt Philoſophers, as theirs exceeds Barbariſm and Licentiouſneſs. Yet the Diſciples and Profeſſors of *Chriſt* have this Legacy given by their Maſter, Bleſſedneſs hereafter, but Perſecution in this Life, *John* 16. 33. *In the World ye ſhall have Tribulation.* Luke 9. 23. *Whoſoever will be my Diſciple, muſt*

must take up his Cross, and die daily, *and follow me*, 2 Tim. 3. 12. *All that will live Godly in Christ Jesus must suffer persecution.* And I have found my Saviour's words true, Vers. 31. *I die daily.* And certainly, if I should measure the excellency of the Doctrine, by the success that the Professors thereof have in this life, I should prefer the Position of the Epicure, *Let us eat and drink, for to morrow we shall die.* Take the advantage of the Pleasure, and Contentment that this World affords, while we have opportunity of life: and look upon Death as everlasting dissolution, without expectation of a future account. But if I should say thus, I should plainly evidence that I have not *the Knowledge of God*, v. 34. He is a pure God, and delights in what is like himself. Certainly he would never suffer the True Professors and Practisers of Purity, Justice, and Holiness, to lie under the worst of Miseries in this Life, unless he had reserved unto them a State of Blessedness after this Life: *Shall not the Judge of all the World do right?* And this was that great Conclusion which *Solomon*, the wisest of Men made, upon an exact observation of the variety of the Dispensations of Providence in this Life: *Sentence not speedily executed against an evil work*, Eccles. 8. 11. *Just Men to whom it hapneth according to the work of the wicked: and wicked Men to whom it hapneth according to the work of the Righteous*, Eccles. 8. 14. *The place of Judgment, that wickedness was there; and the place of Righteousness, that Iniquity was there*, Eccles. 3. 16. *The tears of the Oppressed, that they had no Comforter, and on the side of the Oppressors there was Power*, Eccles. 4. 1. *One Event to the Righteous and to the Wicked*, Eccles. 9. 2. *So that no Man knoweth either Love or Hatred, by all that is before him*, Eccles. 9. 1.

Upon this consideration of the most exact and unmixed Purity and Justice of God, and yet upon variety of the course of Providence in this Life, seeming, as it were, to thwart, and break the Rule of that Justice; he frames his Conclusion in the latter end of his Survey, Eccles. 12. 13. *Let us hear the Conclusion of the whole matter, Fear God and keep his Commandments, for this is the whole duty of Man. For God shall bring every work into Judgment, with every secret thing, whether it be good, or whether it be evil.*

The Apostles next Argument, is at once an Argument to prove the Resurrection, and an Answer to the Objection of a Naturalist, Vers. 35. *Some will say, How are the Dead raised, and with what Bodies shall they come?* This Objection runs thus; The Rules and Experience of Natural Observations, tell us, That from a Total Privation, there is no regress to the first Subsistence: How therefore shall the Dead arise? If the Soul assume another Body, it is no Resurrection: and to assume the same is absurd and impossible. Do we not see the Bodies of Men mangled into Pieces, and some of them become Meat to Fowls, others to Beasts, others to Fish, and mixed with their Substance? And those again, it may be, become the Food of other Men, turned into their own Blood and Spirits, and it may be, become the Particles of another Generation. And those Bodies that have the most solemn Interment, do resolve into their First Elements; and those very Particles of this Resolution, by a Thousand Mutations, become parts of other mixt Bodies, and, it may be at last, Ingredients of the Constitution of other Men. A small Contemplation can follow the Dust of the Great *Alexander*,

der, to ſome inconſiderable and low Employment? How then ſhall the Dead be raiſed, and with what Bodies ſhall they ariſe? If the Soul ſhall reſume its own Body, it may fall ſo, that it cannot be done without injury to another Body, that claims the ſame Privilege of a Reſurrection.

This is that which made the *Athenians* the Seat of the greateſt Philoſophers of *Greece*, and the chifeſt *Academy* of the World, to Mock, when they heard of the Reſurrection; And this is that Objection which the Apoſtle here Anſwers: And becauſe the Objection is made by Perſons that ſubſcribe not to the Authority of Scriptures, nor to the Truth of the Goſpel, he uſeth another kind of *Medium* to evince the poſſibility and truth of the Reſurrection, than what he before had uſed: And Anſwers an Objection framed upon *Senſe* and *Natural Reaſon*, by Inſtances and Inferences drawn from the ſame Principles: By which he diſcovers theſe Two things.

1. That Death, though it be a Total Privation, doth not exclude the poſſibility of a Reſurrection: which Anſwers the firſt part of the Queſtion, *How ſhall the Dead be raiſed?*

2. That though it be true, the Form of the Body be changed, and reſolved into Corruption; yet the Body that ſhall be raiſed ſhall not be ſubject thereunto: which Anſwers the Queſtion, *With what Bodies ſhall they ariſe?*

Now touching the *Firſt*; That notwithſtanding a Body is deprived of that Form which it hath, and die; yet it is not impoſſible there ſhould be a Reſurrection thereof.

First, It is plain, that though there might be an impoſſibility thereof, on the part of the Subject, yet there is no impoſſibility thereof, in regard of the Supreme Efficient: He that made all things of nothing, can much more of ſomething make the ſame that it was. It is eaſily demonſtrable, that all things were at firſt Created by the Supreme Efficient: and that there was a Firſt Man, that had his beginning in time. The *Scripture* ſhews us, how he made him of the Duſt of the ground: And *Natural Reaſon*, though it cannot without Revelation ſhew us the manner How, yet it muſt moſt evidently conclude, that he was made either of nothing, or of ſuch a ſubſtance that had in it ſelf no diſpoſition nor power to form it ſelf into that ſubſiſtence which it after had. But the Supreme Omnipotent cauſe of all things formed him by his Power and Wiſdom, either out of nothing, or out of ſuch a ſomething, as required Omnipotence it ſelf to make it what it after was.

But *Secondly*, To return to the Apoſtle's Argument, evidencing the Power of God extending to the Reſurrection of Man, in the ordinary and moſt obvious courſe of his Providence: which, though it be Ordinary, yet it is ſuch as without the Original Omnipotent Power of God, could never come to paſs, Verſe. 36. *Thou Fool, that which thou ſoweſt is not quickened except it die.* We converſe every day with Wonders and Miracles no leſs admirable, if rightly conſider'd, than many of thoſe Points of Faith which a Naturaliſt will not believe. For the Footſteps of the Omnipotence and Wiſdom of God, are in every thing we ſee and hear: Only here

here is the blindneſs of Mankind that he looks not diligently into things of ordinary concurrence. but paſſeth them over of courſe. If the Sun ſhould ſtand ſtill but one hour, it were a thing that all the World would obſerve, and be aſtoniſhed at; yet the continual motion of the ſame is a greater Miracle, if rightly conſider'd, than that. And if we give our ſelves to the obſervations of things of Nature, as we call them; the ordinary ſort of Men reſt barely in Senſe and experience. The Farmer caſts his Corn in the Ground, becauſe he finds by experience it produceth a Crop the next Summer. And that more obſervant rank of Men, the *Natural Philoſophers* Obſervations are indeed more curious: but when all is don by them, it is but a more vigilant employment of their Senſes: And ſo far as their Senſe can carry them, ſo far they are able to give a better account of the Reaſon of things, than others that are leſs obſervant. But where once that fails, the Reaſons of things which they aſſay to give, are ſuch inſipid, uncertain conjectures, that nothing of Truth can be built upon them. The very Inquiries that might be made upon a Fly, or a Grain of Corn (the inſtance of the Text) is able to gravel and confound the greateſt Maſter of reaſon that ever was: And he muſt, if he will be but Ingenuous, and not go about to pleaſe himſelf, or delude others by ungrounded fancies, acknowledge that in theſe ſmall ordinary, trivial diſpoſitions of Natural Effects, there is the Finger and Word of Omnipotence it ſelf And hence it is that Almighty God, when he would convince *Job* of the Narrowneſs of his Underſtand, Reads him a Lecture upon thoſe Creatures and Things which were of ordinary occurrence, and, from them demonſtrates the Infinite

Power, Majeſty, and Wiſdom of God. *Job* had often heard the Wind, ſeen the Rain, felt his Clothes warm, ſeen the Lightning, heard the Thunder, Diſcourſed with Men of Reaſon; and yet becauſe they were things of daily Converſation, he paſſed them over, and did not conſider them: He took them in the Lump, and in the Ear, but never ſifted out the Corn till God mentions them diſtinctly to him, and doubtleſs with it did infuſe into his Soul, a deliberate, clear, diſtinct obſervation of the things that were mentioned: And then he could Read another Leſſon of the Wiſdom and Omnipotence of God in thoſe Creatures and things which were of ordinary Occurrence. And upon the ſame account it is, that when God was pleaſed to ſet forth the Excellence of his Power, in putting Underſtanding into the heart of Man; he ſends us not to conſider of the Wiſdom of the great Stateſman, or the Learning of the Profound Scholar: But ſends us to that Simple Diſcretion, that without any Improvements or Arts, or Learning, appears in the Plowman in Threſhing of his Corn, Iſai. 23. 29. *This alſo cometh forth from the Lord of Hoſts, who is wonderful in Counſel, and excellent in Working.* And accordingly here the Apoſtle chides the Inadvertence and Inconſiderateneſs of the *Naturaliſt*, who hath every day an Experiment before him, but little behind the Strangeneſs and Wonder of the Reſurrection; and yet takes no notice of it to allay his Infidelity: *Thou Fool, that which thou ſoweſt is not quickned except it die.* As if he ſhould ſay, Thou that makeſt this objection doſt not conſider what thou ſayeſt. Thou haſt every day in thy view the Corn that thou ſoweſt: and the Bread thou eateſt, carries in it a wonder,

not

not much inferior to this whereof we treat. Yet becauſe this is common, thou art blind, and doſt not obſerve it: Thy Corn dies before it lives. And now ſuppoſe thou hadſt never ſeen nor heard of any ſuch thing, as that Corn, or any other Seed caſt into the Ground in *October*, ſhould in *Auguſt* following live again, with an increaſe of 100 Fold; and this were now told thee. Would not thy narrow Reaſon frame the ſame Objection, *How ſhall it ariſe, and with what Body?* And wouldſt thou not count the Plowman Mad that buries his Corn, in expectation of a Reſurrection of it the next year? But now common Obſervation and Experience hath made that credible and evident unto thee, And canſt thou not, out of that experience, find an Argument to check thy own Infidelity in the point in hand? What Reaſon canſt thou aſſign, that this Grain of Corn ſhould have ſuch a Seed of life in it, that though the Body, the Grain in which it is incloſed, diſſolve; yet the Energy of that Vegetative Principle, can cauſe a new Stalk, and attract a nouriſhment ſutable unto it? Or what is that Seed of Life that is in it, whence comes it? Tell me if thou canſt reſolve it into any thing but the Mighty Power and Word of the Omnipotent God: And cannot the ſame Omnipotent reconcile Life unto thy corrupted Body?

But to come to the inſtance it ſelf, and to follow it: Theſe things are aſſerted, and moſt exactly true in Nature, concerning this grain of Corn.

Firſt, That the grain of Corn dies: *It is not quickned except it die.* That is, the matter of it is corrupted and there is a Separation between that Mat-

ter of the Grain, and that Seed of Life, or Vegetative Principle that is in it.

Secondly, That it is quickened; *viz.* The ſame thing that dies is again quickned. The Principle of Life that lay as it were aſleep in it, Revives, Reſumes, and Attracts ſo much of the Body of that Grain as is ſerviceable for it, to ſerve this Principle of Life in its Acts of Life and Growth. For it is moſt evident, in ordinary experience, that Vegetable Principle by the help of Moiſture, will draw out the Subſtance of the Grain, though it be not caſt into the Earth: So that the very Life of the Seed borrows as much of the Grain of Corn to ſecure its New Life, as is fit and uſeful for it.

Thirdly, That that Quickning cannot be, unleſs the Grain dies, *viz.* So much as is taken in unto the New Growth, ceaſeth to be a Grain of Corn, or indeed parcel of a Grain of Corn, but aſſumes a New Shape: and yet ſtill it is the ſame Grain of Corn that died, and is now quickned: The ſame Vegetative Principle that lay lurking and ſecret in the Grain of Corn before it grows, and puts it ſelf forth in Act, and the ſame ſubſtance that was before a Grain of Corn it attracted and faſhioned into the Stalk and Ear, though it received an Acceſſion of Increaſe. the Vegetative Principle that was in the Grain of Corn, cannot put forth it ſelf into Act, except there come ſomething that muſt bring a degree of Corruption of the Grain from what it was, and fit it to be ſerviceable unto, and attend the motion of this Vegetative Principle, *viz.* Moiſture which corrupts the Body of the Grain.

Fourthly,

Fourthly, That yet though this New Production be the ſame Vegetative Principle, that lay unactive in the Grain of Corn, and the ſame Matter that was in the Grain of Corn, attracted unto, and accompanying this Vegetative Principle, yet it is not the ſame that it was: not the ſame in External form and appearance; it is one ſingle Grain when it is Sown, and after it is Sown, the Husk which ſerved to incloſe, and defend the Vegetable Matter, and Vegetative Form, rots, when it becomes uſeleſs, but it riſeth in Beauty; Firſt a Stalk, then the Ear, then Flower: So, though it be the ſame Individual Matter, the ſame Individual Vegetative Principle that it was before, yet it is altered in the Appearance, in the Beauty, in the Advantage of Increaſe: Before it was a Grain, now it is a Herb, including many Grains.

Fifthly, Though it thus be alter'd from what it was, it is not alter'd ſpecifically, but every Seed hath its own Body: the Grain of Barley bears a Body of Barley, and the Grain of Wheat a Body of Wheat. Thus the Matter is the ſame, the Spirit or Individual Form is the ſame, the Species or Kind is the ſame, though the External Appearance or faſhion of it differs from what it was.

Sixthly, And all this by the Finger and power of God: God hath given it a Body as it hath pleaſed him though, as we before obſerved, the progreſs of the Generation of Vegetables is for the moſt part regular and uniform: and the ſame being ordinary, and found by experience to be ſo, it is made a matter of no wonder. The Country-Man

Man knows, that if his Corn be caſt into the Ground, and there be ſeaſonable Moiſture, it will the next Summer become a Crop, and ſo it is paſt over as a matter of no Marvel: We ſee it ſo every ear: Yet if we ſhould examine how or by what means there comes ſuch a Vegetable Principle in a ſmall inconſiderable Grain of Corn, that all the Men in the World cannot tell what it is, much leſs frame the like by all their power and skill: How it comes to paſs that the ſame will lie unactive, and unmoving a year or two, or more, in that little Body, and yet when it hath the opportunity of Moiſture, thruſt out it ſelf: How it attracts and draws the ſubſtance of the Grain it ſelf after it, to feed and ſerve it: And when it hath aſſimilated the whole to what it is, it attracts from the Earth ſupplies convenient for it, and aſſimilates theſe ſupplies to it ſelf and its own nature, and carries them along to that action to which it is deſign'd. And how it comes to paſs, that in all this, it moves uniformly unto one end. Firſt produceth the Blade, then the Stalk, and when that hath ſtrength enough to bear, and heighth enough to defend, it ſends forth the Ear; and till that Ear is proof againſt the Cold, cloſes it with a Husk: And in that Ear the Corn ſpecifical, according to its Nature, the Grain of Wheat brings Wheat, and the Grain of Barley brings out Barley, and their kinds are not confounded. And as the Grain is ſutable in kind to the ſeed, ſo in the manner of its placing upon the Stalk, and that in that excellent order, both for its own conſervation and uſe, that any alteration thereof would be to the diſadvantage of it, and the Uſer. And all this ſo certainly, conſtantly, and univerſally (without

out ſome accidental impediment) and that without any choice or underſtanding of its own to diſpoſe it to what it is. Certainly, this moſt ordinary Creature, which we Converſe with every day, muſt needs drive us to acknowledge the Almighty Wiſdom and Power of God, to which alone, and to nothing elſe, we can reſolve this ordinary, but wonderful production: And to the virtue of that Powerful Word and Commiſſion of his, which hath continued in its ſtrength, without any intermiſſion, for above Five thouſand years, Gen. 1. 12. *Let the Earth bring forth Graſs, and every Herb yielding Seed after his kind.*

Now, from this Inſtance, and Reſemblance, the Apoſtle Anſwers that Curious Inquiſition, *How ſhall the Dead be raiſed, and with what Bodies ſhall they ariſe?* For if it be well conſider'd, the great work of the Reſurrection hath many things in it very ſutable and parallel to this Reſemblance of this Grain of Corn.

Firſt, As the very ſame Spirit of Life, as I may call it which was in the Grain of Corn before it was ſown, is that which animates and actuates the Herb that ſprings out of it, and by it: So it is the very ſame Individual Soul that ſhall animate, and actuate the Body in the Reſurrection. Here indeed is the odds, the Life or Soul, as I may call it, of the Seed, is thrown with it into the Ground, and is never ſeparated from it till it draw it with it: But the Soul of Man is ſeparated from the Body; the Body ſown in the Earth, the Soul reſerved in a place of Bliſs or Miſery, according to its condition, till Rejoyned unto the Body.

Secondly,

Secondly, As when the Seed is caſt into the ground and dies the Vital Flower in the Seed attracts the very ſame ſubſtance of the Grain, and carries it along with it into the Stalk and the Ear: So the Soul of Man ſhall again aſſume the very ſame Body, and be united unto it in the Reſurrection. It is that very Body that is ſown in Corruption, which ſhall riſe in Incorruption, Job 19. 26. *Though after my skin, Worms deſtroy this Body, yet in my fleſh I ſhall ſee God.* The Body deſtroyed, yet the ſame Fleſh ſhall ſee God: My Body deſtroyed, yet my Fleſh ſhall ſee. For as the ſame Perſons that ſhall be living at the Second Coming of *Chriſt*, ſhall not die, but be changed, 1 *Cor.* 15. 17. That is, though there be an alteration of the Qualities and Condition of the Body, yet the Subſtance ſhall remain; So in the Reſurrection, the Bodies of them that ſleep ſhall be the ſame, though Cloathed with Glory and Incorruption. The Reſurrection of *Lazarus*, of the Saints at *Chriſt*'s Reſurrection, of our Saviour; as they were Pledges; ſo they are in this reſpect, Patterns of our Reſurrection: they were the ſame Bodies reanimated with the ſame Souls. It is true, the manner of this ſtrange Reduction of a diſſolved Creature, unto it ſelf again, is too difficult for us to apprehend; and 'tis no wonder it ſhould be ſo: For we ſee the Tranſmutation of the Silkworm, and Creatures of the like nature: That there are ſuch changes of them it is plain; yet the reaſon or cauſe of it, the poor Worm underſtands not; Nay, nor Man, that is a Superior Creature, endued with Underſtanding. Ordinarily, things that are without us, are more obvious to our obſervation, or diſquiſition, than we our ſelves are to our

our own obſervation: And yet even in theſe Tranſlations of Vegetables, and of the loweſt degree of Senſible Creatures, we muſt acknowledge the hand and power of God, and that is the laſt Reſolution of our beſt Obſervation.

But when we come to our ſelves, there our Diſcoveries are more imperfect, becauſe the Obſervation is more difficult. All the Knowledge we have of our own Original, is but by Tradition from thoſe that knew us Born; and by Obſervation that other Men have the like Original of their Being. But take a Child from his Infancy, and let him receive an Education eſtranged from this Tradition, he will not be able barely, from the ſtrength of Reaſon, to know that his Original was by the ordinary courſe of Generation. Again, when our Experience and Information tells us, that we came into the World by the courſe of Natural Generation; yet we are not able to ſhape unto our ſelves a reaſon, *why*, or *how*, a Humane Creature is ſo produced, but muſt ſit down with *Solomon* the Wiſeſt of Men, and conclude, *That we know not the way of the Spirit, nor how the Bones do grow in the Womb of her that is with Child*, Eccleſ. 2. 5. And therefore thoſe that have been over-bold in ſcarching into that Wonder of the Generation of Animals, tell us, It is not this, nor it is not that; but what it is they cannot determine: Or if they do, yet their Determinations are ſuch, as convince not of the Truth of what they ſay. Their Hiſtory, or Narrative thereof, can go no farther than their bare ſenſe leads them; and where that fails, either they are ſilent, or guided by meer imagination. And certainly, if there be ſo much difficulty, and indeed impoſſibility, to diſcover the true cauſe, or manner of

of the first Origination of a Man, of a Worm, of a Straw; wherein we have the help of our Senses; Observations of our own; and Traditions of others: How then shall we expect to shape unto our selves, a Conception of the manner of the Resurrection, a New Birth of the Body to what it was before? And hence, *Luke* 20. 36. They are called *Children of the Resurrection*. Therefore I shall not perplex my self with Inquiring, How the pieces of the Body, distracted into several places that have undergone Millions of Transmutations, shall be brought together without violation of those substances to whom they have been united: Or whether by some secret Power of Providence, those parts of Humane Flesh shall not be subject to a Transmutation, or Transition into another Substance: Or how that Separation shall be wrought: Or what parts of the Body shall be the Substance of the Body in the Resurrection. These are matters that are unnecessary, and should be left to the Almighty Power of God. We know not the things obvious to our Sense, much less these matters that are reserved in the Cabinet of the Councel of the Almighty, who knows all the Works that he has made; and the least dust is not estranged from his distinct knowledge. Only thus much we may and must conclude with *Job*, as before, *Though after my Skin, Worms destroy this Body, yet in my Flesh I shall see God.*

Thirdly, To follow the Comparison; *It is not quickned except it die.* And herein the Comparison falls short. For though those that die shall be quickned, yet some shall be quickned that have not died. *We shall not all die, but we shall all be changed,*

changed, Verſ. 51. *We which are alive, and remain at the coming of our Lord, ſhall not prevent them that Sleep*, 1 Theſſ. 4. 15, 17. At that ſame inſtant wherein the Trumpet ſhall Sound, *The Dead ſhall hear the Voice of God, and be raiſed, and the Living ſhall be changed.*

Fourthly, That as in the growth of the Grain, though the Subſtance remain, yet the Form or Shape is changed: So in the Reſurrection, *That which was Sown a Corruptible Body, ſhall be Raiſed in Incorruption: Sown in Diſhonour, Raiſed in Glory: Sown in Weakneſs, Raiſed in Power: Sown a Natural Body, Raiſed a Spiritual Body*, Verſ. 41, 42, 43. And therefore there are theſe ſeveral qualities of the Body in the Reſurrection.

Firſt, *Incorruption.*

Secondly, *Glory*, or *Splendor.*

Thirdly, *Strength.*

Fourthly, *Spirituality.*

Firſt, For *Incorruption*; It is true, by the Ordinary Courſe of Nature, Whatſoever is ſubject to Generation, is ſubject to Corruption. But yet it is in the Power of God that gave it Being, to Preſerve and Uphold that Being unto Everlaſting.

Thus are the Angels Incorruptible, not ſimply and abſolutely of their own Nature; but the Will of God preſerves that Being in their Original Conſtitution.

ſtitution. The Heavens and Earth have a certain but long continued duration; but ſtill it is by the *Word*, the Power of God, 2 *Pet.* 3. 7. Thus the Bodies of our Firſt Parents in Innocence, were uncapable of Corruption, not in their own Nature, or by the Innate Qualities of their Bodies, but by a Continued Act of Divine Power and Providence, ſupplying the Defects and Decays of Nature, and Correcting the Oppoſites to its Conſiſtence. And as it is the ſame Power that preſerves the Times of Particular Men to an Ordinary Meaſure of Age, *viz.* 60 or 80 years; ſo it was that which did preſerve the Bodies of the Antients before the Flood, unto Ten times that Age. As their Breath was given unto them, ſo it was preſerved in them, and is called from them, by the ſame Infinite Power of God. Pſal. 104 29. *Thou takeſt away their Breath, they die and return to their duſt.* And as the Providence and continual Influence of the Divine Will and power, is that which maketh the Soul Immortal; ſo the ſame Influence ſhall in, and after the Reſurrection, preſerve the Body and Soul in a Perpetual and Incorruptible Union and Condition. And this Condition of the Reſurrection is common both to the Good and Bad: The Bodies of the Wicked are indued with Incorruptibility, that they may be Subjects capable of an Everlaſting Wrath: *Their worm never dies, nor the fire never goes out*, Mark 9. 44. *The Beaſt and the Falſe Prophet ſhall be tormented Day and Night for ever and ever*, Revel. 20. 10. And on the other ſide, the Elect of God ſhall be indued with Immortal and Incorruptible Bodies, that they may be fit Subjects of an everlaſting and Incorruptible Bleſſedneſs: *They ſhall reign for ever and ever;*

ever, Revel. 22. 5. *So shall we be ever with the Lord*, 1 Thess. 4. 17. As the *Inheritance* is an *Incorruptible Inheritance, that fadeth not away*, 1 Pet. 1. 4. So the Inheritors thereof are *Incorruptible Inheritors, born of an Incorruptible Seed*, 1 Pet. 1. 23. *Plants fixed in an Uncorruptible Root, Christ Jesus*, John 15. 6. *And because that Root liveth, we shall live also*, John 14. 19. And hence it is, that this Body which is, and shall be the Tabernacle or House of the Soul, is called a *Building of God, a House not made with hands, but eternal in the Heavens:* wherein Mortality shall be swallowed up of Life, 2 *Cor.* 5. 1. 4. And indeed it is not consistent with Perfect Blessedness, to have the Subject thereof capable of Corruption. The fear and expectation of a Second Dissolution, would mingle Unhappiness and Sorrow with the most Absolute Enjoyment of the Highest Felicity, and abate it.

The *Second* Quality of the Body in the Resurrection, is *Glory* and *Beauty*. *It is sown in dishonour, it is raised in Glory*. And this is a privilege that belongs only to the Members of *Christ Jesus, who shall change our vile Body, that it may be fashioned like unto his own Glorious Body, according to the working whereby he is able to subdue all things unto himself*, Philip. 3. 21. Thus as that Conversation of *Moses*, with the eminent Manifestation of God's Presence in the Mount, did Imprint a Splendor and Glory upon the Face of *Moses*, so that the *Israelites* were not able to behold him, *Exod.* 34 29. So we, by virtue of our Union with *Christ* our Glorious Head, and by *the Intuition of his Glory, shall be changed into the same Image, from Glory to Glory*, 2 Cor. 3. 18. And what *Daniel* speaking of the *Resurrection*, saith,

ſhall be true, even in the very Bodies of the Saints. *Dan.* 12. 3. *They that be wiſe ſhall ſhine as the Firmament, and they that turn many to Righteouſneſs, as the Stars for ever and ever.* And certainly we have good ground to think, that the Bodies of the Saints in the Reſurrection ſhall bear ſome reſemblance to the Tranſigured Body of our Saviour, *Matth.* 17. 2. *Whoſe Face ſhone as the Sun, and his Rayment white as the Light.* That as our Redeemer's Body ſhines as the Sun in his Brightneſs, ſo the Bodies of his Saints ſhall ſhine as the Stars, though one Star exceed another in Glory. And from hence is likewiſe inſinuated, that though every Body ſhall have an Aſpect of Glory upon it, yet according to the different degrees of Grace in the Soul, ſhall be different degrees of Glory in the Body, for one Star exceedeth another in Glory: Yet ſuch ſhall be the Beauty of all, that in the leaſt Star there ſhall be a fullneſs of Glory: So that one Star ſhall not envy, but rejoyce in anothers Glory. And here will be the Glorioufeſt Sight in the World, to ſee our Lord *Jeſus Chriſt* come in the Clouds in his own Glorified Body, which ſhall out-ſhine the Sun in its higheſt Luſtre, accompanied with all the Angels of Heaven, in their higheſt dreſs of Glory and Splendor, to attend their Lord in the greateſt buſineſs that ever was, or ſhall be; the Judgment of the whole World. Men and Angels to ſee and hear, that Great, Powerful, and Solemn Summons of all Men that ever were, to their Final Judgment by the Trumpet, and Voice of an Arch-Angel. To ſee the Graves opening, and yielding up their Dead: and thoſe poor deſpiſed Saints of *Chriſt*, thoſe hidden ones, that the World, when they were upon Earth, knew not; or, if they knew them, knew them

them with Scorns, Deriſion and Perſecution: To ſee theſe ariſe in Glory and Splendor, as bright as the Light, or as the Angels, at the Reſurrection of our Lord, with as much Beauty, Grace, and Glory, as the Omnipotence, and Boundleſs Love of *Chriſt* can put upon Humane Creatures, whom he intends to make the Beholders of his own Glory to all Eternity. Thoſe, thus Arrayed, and Conducted by the Guidance of Angels, into the Preſence of that *Chriſt* that died for them, and now Reigneth and Judgeth for them, brought unto thoſe Manſions, which now, above 1600 Years ſince, he went to Heaven to provide for them. Certainly this Appearance will be a moſt Glorious and Bleſſed Appearance.

But on the other ſide, though the Reſurrection is common both to the Good and Bad, yet the manner is different: For as Shame and Confuſion ſhall be the Portion of the Wicked, from the time of the Judgment, ſo ſhall it be from the time of the Reſurrection. The ſame Diſtemper, and Shame, and Aſtoniſhment that ſhall fall upon the Wicked that ſhall be living on the Earth; who ſhall beg the Rocks and Mountains to cover them from the Face of their Judge, ſhall alſo attend thoſe that ſhall riſe to the Judgment of Condemnation. Guilt and Shame, and Aſtoniſhment and Fear, and a Preapprehenſion of their imminent Judgment, a ſecret ſtrugling againſt that Power that ſhall draw them before their Judge, all which cannot chooſe but work an Impreſſion of Horror and Shame upon their very outward appearance. In ſum, ſuch ſhall be the condition of the Wicked in their Reſurrection, as becomes the Face of a Maleſactor drawn before his Judge, as of a Traitor drawn before his

Prince Armed with Power and Vengeance. And on the other ſide, ſuch as ſhall be the Glory and External Splendor of the Elect in that day, as becomes the Inheritors of a Kingdom, an Eternal Kingdom, going to their Inſtallation. And as our Saviour was here in this World, in a very low and deſpiſed Condition, and that Condition, for the moſt part, befalling his Members in this World: So then at that day he ſhall be cloathed with all the Glory and Majeſty that can be communicated to the view of Men and Angels: And thoſe deſpiſed ones, that here were conformed to their Head, in Sufferings and Shame, ſhall then be cloathed with as much Luſtre and Glory as can be laid on a Humane Nature thus advanced in Perfection: *When our Lord ſhall come to be glorified in his Saints, and to be admired in all them that believe*, 2 Theſſ. 1. 10. That very impreſſion of Glory which this Great King ſhall lay upon his Saints and Followers, ſhall be ſuch, as becomes the Members of ſuch a Head; the Attendants, nay Friends, of ſuch a Prince; the Spouſe of ſuch a Husband.

Thirdly, The next quality of the Body in the Reſurrection, is *Strength*. *It is Sown in Weakneſs, it is raiſed in Power:* Not only *by*, but *in* Power.

The Power of our Saviour's Reſurrection ſhall communicate a like Power to the Bodies of his Saints, that they ſhall break the Bonds of the Grave, and of Death it ſelf, ſtronger than the Grave. And though the weight of the whole Earth could be laid upon it, yet it ſhould make his way to meet his Saviour in the Clouds. This Strength ſhall be common to the Wicked and the Juſt, *viz.* To break the Chains of Death: though theſe enter through thoſe

those Chains into a Second Death, more hideous than the former: But there is another Power that shall accompany the Bodies of the Just in the Resurrection, *viz.* Agility, Activity, such as shall be admirably fitted to the Loco-motive Faculty of the Soul. The Body shall not be a Clog, an Impediment, or Burthen to the *Soul*, but exactly fitted to all its Motions. But this will appear more evidently in the next quality.

Fourthly, *Spiritually.* It is sown a Natural Body, it is raised a Spiritual Body. Not a Spirit, but a Spiritual Body, a Body Spiritualized, or a Body stripped of those Infirmities that now do attend our Constitution, and are inconsistent with the Blessed and Glorious Condition which we expect in that other Life. And this Spirituality of the Body imports.

1. A Rarity of the Body: The Body now is gross, which is an Impediment to the Speedy Transition, or Motion thereof from place to place: But in the Resurrection, the Body, though it continue a Body, yet it shall be endued with Rarity and Tenuity, whereby it shall not be impeded in its Motion, either by it self, or by the *Medium.* And to this tends the Expression of the Apostle, 1 *Thess.* 4. 17. *We shall be caught up together with them in the Clouds, to meet the Lord in the Air*: A Motion hardly consistent with a Body so gross as ours now is.

2. There shall be no necessity of supply, or support of our Nature, with Meat, Drink, Sleep: But we shall be upheld in perfect Subsistence, by

the Power of God, without any of theſe Supplies. That of *Revelat.* 7. 16. is true, as well Literally as Myſtically, *They ſhall hunger no more, neither ſhall there be any more thirſt.*

3. There ſhall be no Sickneſs, or Pain; for theſe were the Fruits of Sin. And as Sin ſhall be no more, *So there ſhall be no more Curſe,* Revelat. 22. 3.

4. As they ſhall be delivered from thoſe Conditions now incident to Humane Nature, for the ſupport of it ſelf in *Individuo*, and in *Specie*, ſo they ſhall be void of thoſe Inclinations of the Senſual Appetite, that move towards theſe Supplies of Humane Nature. And upon this Account our Saviour waſhes off that great Objection that the *Sadduces* thought they had made againſt the Reſurrection, *Luke* 20. 35. *They Marry not, nor are given in Marriage, neither can they die any more, for they are equal unto the Angels, and are the Children of God, being the Children of the Reſurrection.* Eating and Drinking, and Sleep, are the ordinary ſupport of our Natures here, while we are in our Journey; and Marrying and Giving in Marriage are Ordinances appointed by God for the Propagation and Preſervation of the Kind: and accordingly our Natures here are indued with Natural Inclinations towards theſe: But in our Country, all theſe will be at an end, becauſe their Uſe ceaſeth. And upon the ſame account alſo, theſe Civil Dependencies that are in this Life for the Maintenance of Humane Society, will alſo ceaſe and be laid aſide: there will be no Superiority, or Inferiority, or Subordination among the Saints in Heaven: But they

they ſhall be all Subjects unto one King, the Great King of Heaven and Earth.

5. They ſhall be delivered at leaſt from the actual uſe or exerciſe of all thoſe Affections or Paſſions that import any defect or Abſence of a perfect Felicity. There ſhall be no Hope; for Hope ſhall be ſwallowed up in Enjoyment: No Fear; for their Felicity is bottomed upon the unchangeable Decree of Almighty God. No Sorrow; for all Tears ſhall be wiped away. No Anger; for there ſhall not, cannot be any occaſion thereof. And indeed all the Affections of the Soul ſhall be as it were turned into Love and Joy: for there ſhall not be any object for any of the reſt of the Affections. But theſe ſhall never fail, becauſe their object ſhall ever continue: a continual ſight of the Perfection, Glory, Goodneſs, Excellence, and Love of God, drawing out our Love; and continual Enjoyment of the Preſence, Goodneſs, and Favour of God, filling us with Joy.

Whiles we live in our Houſes of Clay, the very Temper and Diſpoſition of our Blood and Conſtitution, create in us a Diſpoſition to certain Paſſions, various, according to the variety of our Natural Conſtitutions; Melancholy, to Sadneſs; Sanguin, to Levity and Mirth; Flegm, to Sluggiſhneſs; Choler, to Anger. And theſe again, according as they are mixed, produce ſeveral middle, or compounded Paſſions, which are not ſo much the Affections of the Mind, as Affections of the Body Affecting the Mind. And hence it is, that without any Excitation from an External Object, the very Conſtitution of the Body carries it ſelf and the Mind into theſe Paſſions and Diſtempers. But

in that day all thoſe ſhall be cured. Theſe Complexions of the Body are incident to our Earthly Tabernacles, but not to that Body wherewith we ſhall be cloathed in that day: which ſhall be a Body not Injurious to the Mind, but exactly and admirably ſerviceable to it, in the higheſt Perfection that it is capable of.

And thus we have conſider'd the Apoſtle's Anſwer to the Queſtion *De Modo*, as it refers to the thing it ſelf. But there is yet ſomewhat farther in the Queſtion, *How ſhall it ariſe?* How, or by what means ſhall it ariſe, or thus ariſe? That a poor rotten Carcaſs, pulled down into the Grave by a Thouſand Diſtempers, and there covered with Earth, to hide its Deformity, Corruption and Filthineſs: How ſhall ſuch a Body, that at the beſt is but a Corruptible thing, and in Death Corrupted, ariſe with ſo much Perfection, Beauty, Excellence? To this the Apoſtle gives his Anſwer, by that which is ſtill obvious to the view of a Natural Man. And wherein he muſt neceſſarily ſee the Power of God, and a Power no leſs than in this of the Reſurrection, Ver. 37. *That which thou ſoweſt, thou ſoweſt not that Body that ſhall be:* As if he ſhould thus ſay; The Grain that thou ſoweſt, though it ſend up it ſelf into that which thou after Reapeſt, differs very much from that it was before, in Beauty, Quantity, and other Advantages. Thou ſeeſt the Power of the Great Creator that gives a kind of Reſurrection to this Corn, gives it alſo another kind of Shape and Appearance than what it had in the Grain: For *God giveth it a Body as it hath pleaſed him.*

Again, look upon the Earth and Heavens; *the Glory of the Heavenly Bodies is one, that of the Earthly*

ly Bodies another. Again, look upon the Earthly Bodies, they have great variety in them, though they own the ſame Common Earth for their Ground-work or Matter. Look alſo upon the Celeſtial Bodies, who, though they conſiſt probably of the ſame Matter, yet they have a diverſity of Beauty, Glory, and Luſtre upon them: *There is one Glory of the Sun, another of the Moon, another of the Stars.* Nay, even in the very Stars themſelves, fixed in the ſame Sphere, we ſee *one Star exceeding another in Glory.* And whence comes this variety of the Glory of the Creatures, that it may be were taken out of the ſame Matter; or if not, yet all their Matter taken out of the ſame Nothing: But only the Will and Power of the Great Lord of all Things: He that by his Almighty Word, called the Matter and Maſs of all Things out of Nothing, can, with the ſame, and in reſpect to the Nature of the Thing, with much more eaſe recall Something to what it was before. And he that out of the ſame Common Maſs, or Matter, could frame ſeveral Things, and dreſs them with differing Glory, one far excelling another; the ſame Almighty God can, with the ſame eaſe, Dreſs up that Corruptible Corrupted Piece, thy Body, after it hath lain many Thouſand Years rotting in the Duſt, into a Beauty and Glory equal to that of the Sun. Had it been poſſible, before thou wert, to have ſeen that little Maſs of Red Earth, which thy Maker took, and out of it formed thy Firſt Parent. And hadſt ſeen him when this Rude Material came out of God's hands, formed into that Excellent Fabrick, and dreſſed with that Excellent Glory that *Adam* had in Paradiſe; thou would'ſt have ſeen a Progreſs of no leſs difficulty

ficulty than that we now ſpeak of. And therefore look upon the Creatures, and conſider their Original, thou wilt anſwer thy ſelf in thy Objections againſt a Reſurrection, and ſuch a Reſurrection as this we have declared.

Now this Reſurrection of the Body is common to the Juſt and Unjuſt. For ſo we are Taught in the Old Teſtament, *Eccleſ.* 12. 14. *God ſhall bring every Work into Judgment, with every ſecret thing, whether it be good, or whether it be evil.* And ſo we are Taught in the New Teſtament, 2 *Cor.* 5. 10. *We muſt all appear before the Judgment Seat of Chriſt, that every one may receive the things done in the Body, according to that he hath done, whether it be good or bad.* The Great Judge of Heaven and Earth reſpits his Diſtributive Juſtice, and it doth not here ſo clearly appear: *There are Juſt Men, to whom it happeneth according to the work of the Wicked,* and *è converſo,* Eccleſ. 8. 14. But there will come a Day of the Manifeſtation of the Righteous Judgment of God, in which Day he will have the Glory of his perfect Juſtice. And as the Purity, Juſtice, and Glory of God includes the neceſſity of a Judgment, ſo the neceſſity of that Judgment requires the appearance of the Perſons to receive that Judgment. And becauſe all Perſons that ever were or ſhall be, are ſubject to a Rule of Juſtice, and Righteouſneſs, given by the Great Lord of all things, therefore all Perſons ſhall come under the Scrutiny, Search, and Determinatian of that Judgment. And becauſe the whole Man was the Subject of that Law, therefore the whole Man ſhall be Judged by it: And ſo there is a neceſſity of a Reſurrection as well of the Juſt as Unjuſt, that they may, in the Compleatneſs of their Conſtitution, receive their Reward or Puniſh-

Puniſhment, according to what they have done in the Fleſh. We will therefore conſider wherein the Members of *Chriſt*, and thoſe that are not, do agree and differ, in Relation to the Reſurrection: And they agree in this,

1. That there ſhall be a Reſurrection both of the one and of the other.

2. That in the Reſurrection the Bodies of both ſhall be Spiritualized.

The preſent Conſtitution of our Bodies are ſuch, that they are unable to bear that meaſure of Joy, Comfort, and Glory, that ſhall belong to the Bleſſed; and that meaſure of Vengeance and Torment that is the Portion of the Curſed. Therefore, as to the one, there ſhall be given a Body, able to bear the weight of Glory, ſtiled by the Apoſtle, *An exceeding and eternal weight of Glory*, 2 Cor. 4. 17. So to the others there ſhall be given a Body, though exquiſitely ſenſible of the Burthen of the Wrath of God, and of that Fire that never goeth out, yet not conſumed by it. As Fleſh and Blood cannot inherit the Kingdom of God; ſo neither can Fleſh and Blood, in the preſent Conſtitution thereof, dwell with thoſe everlaſting Burnings prepared for the Wicked.

3. Conſequently the Bodies as well of the Bleſſed, as of the Curſed Souls, ſhall be indued with Incorruption and Immortality; Thoſe, that they may to all Eternity enjoy Bleſſedneſs and Glory; Theſe, that to all Eternity, they may ſuffer the Vengeance, Fury and Wrath of God.

The

The Immortality and Incorruption of the Bodies of the Saints is there Privilege, that renders them capable of an everlasting Fruition of the Presence and Favour of God. The Immortality and Incorruption of the Bodies of the Wicked is the Addition of their Misery: They shall everlastingly be, that they may everlastingly be wretched; and so continue for ever the Monuments of the Righteous Judgment of the Glorious and Eternal God.

Now, though they thus far agree, yet the Resurrection of the Just and Unjust differ as followeth.

First, In the Cause: For though it is true, that the Resurrection of both is by the Power of God, yet the Manner of the Execution of this Power is differing. For the Members of *Christ Jesus* shall arise, by Virtue of their Union with their Head, by a kind of Secret and Sweet Sympathy with him who is their Life, and their Life hid in him, *John* 6. 57. *He that eateth me, even he shall live by me.* John 11. 25. *I am the Resurrection and the Life: He that believeth in me, though he were dead, yet shall be live.* John 14. 19. *Because I live ye shall live also.* And hence it is that our Lord *Jesus* doth so frequently own the Resurrection of *his*, as his own special and Discriminative Work. *John* 6. 44. 54. *I will raise him up at the last day.* Matth 24. 31. *And he shall send his Angels, and they all gather his Elect.* Philip. 2. 21. *Christ shall change our vile Bodies*, &c. And this stands upon this ground of our Union with *Christ* our Head, and in our Head is our Life hid. *Christ* our Head is hid, and consequently

quently our Life is hid: *and when our Head ſhall appear, our Life ſhall appear*, Coloſſ. 3. 3, 4. So that a Man may ſay, That the Reſurrection of the Juſt, is, as it were, a Fruit, a Conſequent of the Reſurrection of our Lord: And therefore he is called, *The Firſt-born from the Dead*, Coloſſ. 1. 18. and the Reſurrection of the Juſt attributed to his Reſurrection, as the Virtual and Immediate Cauſe thereof: And ſuch as being granted, doth, by way of Conſequence, infer, and as it were neceſſitate the Effect. *Rom.* 6. 5. *If we be planted in the likeneſs of his Death, we ſhall be alſo in the likeneſs of his Reſurrection.* 1 Cor. 15. 12. *If Chriſt be riſen, how ſay ſome that there is no Reſurrection from the Dead?* 1 Theſſ. 4. 14. *If we believe that Jeſus died and roſe again; Even ſo them alſo which ſleep in Jeſus will God bring with him*: The Reſurrection of the Members of *Chriſt*, though ſubſequent to his, in order of time, yet in conſideration of Nature, is a kind of neceſſary concomitant of the Reſurrection of *Chriſt*. And, upon the ſame account, as our Lord *Chriſt*'s Body could not be longer detained under the Power of Death, than the determinative time of Three Days, becauſe the Debt which he undertook was paid: So that *it was not poſſible he ſhould be holden of it*, Acts 2. 24. So *Chriſt* having Paid the Debt of his Elect, and thereby *aboliſhed Death*, the Wages of that Debt, 2 Tim. 1. 10. There is the like neceſſity of the Reſurrection of the Members of *Chriſt*: It is not poſſible they can be detained under the Natural Death, unto everlaſting, no more than it was for our Lord *Chriſt*. *And this is that Victory which God hath given us over Death by Chriſt*, 1 Cor. 15. 57. So then the Reſurrection of the Righteous, though Origi-

Originally and Fundamentally it be to be attributed to the Power of God, yet immediately is to be attributed unto our Lord *Christ*,

First, As a Fruit, a Concomitant, or Neceſſary Conſequent of his Reſurrection, who is our Head, and in whom our Life is hid.

Secondly, As a Fruit and Conſequent of his Satisfaction, by whom our Debt is Paid, and ſo this Retentive Power of Death aboliſhed.

And hence it is, that as by the Power of the Spirit of *Chriſt*, working us to our Firſt Reſurrection, we are made a *willing People in* that *day of his Power*: So in our Motion towards this Second Reſurrection, we move to it willingly: And as all things in Nature reach out after their Perfection, and preſs towards it; So the Members of *Chriſt* reach out after the Reſurrection of their Bodies, as to that wherein, or immediately upon which, their Perfection and Bleſſedneſs conſiſts. Rom. 8. 23. *Waiting for the Adoption, to wit, the Redemption of our Bodies.* Philip. 3. 11. *By any means to attain to the Reſurrection of the Dead.* And hence it is, that the Bodies of the Bleſſed in the Reſurrection, ſhall moſt Willingly, and in a manner, Naturally, move to the Preſence of *Chriſt*, as the Eagle doth to his Prey. *Luke* 17. 17. *Where the Carcaſs is, thither will the Eagles be gathered together.*

But in the Reſurrection of the Unjuſt it ſhall be otherwiſe: The Almighty and unreſiſtible Power of God ſhall gather them from their Graves. The Grave, as the Miniſter of God, ſhall deliver up thoſe

those that she hath in her Custody. *Isai.* 26. 19. *The Earth shall cast out the Dead.* Revel. 20. 13. *Death and Hell delivered up the Dead which were in them.* Such as these are detained under the Custody of Death until the Judgment; and then, whether they will or no, they are delivered up: And as soon as they are out of the Custody of the Grave, by the Resurrection, and upon the Voice of that Powerful Trumpet that shall summon them, they are immediately conducted, by the Power of God, unto the Presence of their Judge. And though they have within them a secret Reluctance, and Opposition against it, so that they *wish the Rocks and Mountains to cover them*; yet all is in vain: Go they must, *Revel.* 6. 16.

And this is the *First Difference:* The Elect in *Christ* rise by Virtue of a Secret Sympathy with their Saviour, and therefore do Willingly and Earnestly move to it: The Wicked are raised by the irresistible Power of God, and are unwillingly drawn into the Presence of their Judge.

The *Second Difference* is in the Manner of their Resurrection: The Bodies of the Saints of God shall in the Resurrection *be fashioned like the Glorious Body of the Son of God*, Philip. 3. 21. *Bear the Image of the Heavenly*, 1 Cor. 15. 49. Their Countenances filled with Joy and Assurance, being now to approach to their Happiness, the Angels shall be their Convoy and Attendance unto the Presence of *Christ* their Saviour, and shall with all Sweetness and Cheerfulness perform that Office unto the meanest Servant of *Christ*. On the other side, the Wicked shall arise with Shame, Fear, Confusion,

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and aſtoniſhment in their Countenances, upon the Conſcience of their former Sins, and the preapprehenſion of their imminent Miſery: And in that Condition ſhall be drawn before the Judgment Seat of *Chriſt*, whom, in this World, they contemned and perſecuted.

Thus far have we conſider'd the Reſurrection in the Subject: Somewhat is alſo ſhown unto us in the Scriptures, concerning the Adjuncts of it. And therein,

I. The *Time*.

II. The *Concomitants*.

III. The *Conſequents*.

I. For the *Time*: And therein thus we may ſay;

1. That there is a Determinate *Time*, or Day, wherein this ſhall be. *Acts* 17. 31. *He hath appointed a day wherein he will judge the World in Righteouſneſs.* The Day of Judgment, and the Day of the Reſurrection unto Judgment, is the ſame Day.

2. That though this Day be fixed in the determinate Counſel of God; yet it is not diſcovered ſo much as to the Angels. *Matth.* 24. 36. *Of that day and hour knoweth no Man, no not the Angels of Heaven, but my Father only.* And ſurely the certainty of the *Time* of the Judgment is concealed from Mankind, much to our advantage.

Firſt,

First, To keep us always watchful: This is the rule our Saviour Teacheth us, *Matth.* 24. 42. 25. 13. *Watch therefore, for ye know not what hour the Lord doth come.*

Secondly, To keep us always in hope of the Coming of our Lord, and a comfortable Expectation of it, *Titus* 2. 13. *Looking for that bleſſed hope, and the glorious appearing of the Great God and our Saviour Jeſus Chriſt.* 1 Pet. 2. 12. *Looking for, and haſting unto the coming of the day of God.* Certainly it is a bleſſed ignorance, if it cauſe an improvement of theſe Graces in us; for they are the Improvements of our future Glory.

Thirdly, That though our Saviour *Chriſt* promiſeth a ſpeedy Coming to Judgment in many places, and ſeems to direct his Speeches in many places as if thoſe very Perſons to whom he ſpake, ſhould be the Perſons in whoſe time this Day ſhould come: Yet we muſt know, that that was in no ſort intended by our Saviour: But he ſpake to them, and in them to all Perſons of all Ages of the Church, *Mark* 13. ult. *What I ſay unto you, I ſay unto all, Watch.* For it is not Reaſonable, or Juſt, to think, that when our Saviour brought Life and Immortality to light; diſcovered unto Mankind the Mercy and Counſel of God, whereby there was a greater means of Converting many unto him; when, as I may ſay, the Great Market of Salvation was, as it were, but begun in the World, that preſently the Door ſhould be ſhut up: God Almighty was, as it were, preparing the World Four thouſand years for the Great Prophet and Saviour of the World: And it were

not reaſonable to think, he ſhould cloſe up all preſently upon his Coming. And as this could not reaſonably be conceived, ſo, in Truth, Almighty God, in the Prophecies of the Old Teſtament, expreſly publiſheth the contrary. He expected a greater Harveſt, both of *Jews* and *Gentiles*, after the Coming of *Chriſt*, than was come in before. And it is plain, our Saviour himſelf frequently intimateth, and in expreſs Terms declares, That many things of moment muſt firſt come to paſs before the end, which would require many Ages to bring to paſs: As namely, *The Preaching of the Goſpel among all Nations*, *Mark* 13. 10. *The fulfilling of the times of the Gentiles*, Luke 21. 24. And therefore, when upon the Miſapplication, or Miſapprehenſion of our Saviour in the Apoſtles time, there did ariſe *Scoffers*, ſaying, *Where is the promiſe of his coming*, 2 Pet. 3. 4. The Apoſtle, *Firſt* ſettles our Judgment, *That a Thouſand years with the Lord is as one day*, and *è converſo*. And truly if it be rightly conſider'd, we miſtake our ſelves in the Meaſure of Time: For though by piecing one Age to another, we have made up Sixteen hundred years ſince our Saviour's time, yet, in Truth, to every Man it is but his own Age. Though between my Death and my Judgment, a Thouſand years ſhould incurr, yet there will ſeem little or no Interval to my Soul, whoſe Duration will be of another Nature, than it is here *in compoſito*. *Secondly*, He renders the Reaſon; becauſe God is not willing that any ſhould periſh. There are a number of Men, that in the courſe of his Providence ſhall yet be born, who are of the Number of his Elect, who ſhall inlarge his Kingdom; and therefore he will not intercept his own Glory, with an untimely cutting off of Mankind.

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As Almighty God hath appointed the Ages of Men, wherein, without an untimely Death, they are, as it were, ripe, and come into the Grave, like a ſhock of Corn in its Seaſon: So he hath appointed an Age to the World, a time when the number of his Elect is fulfilled, when the Harveſt of the World is ripe: and then, and not till then, *Shall the Angel put in his Sickle*, Revel. 14. 15.

Fourthly, That though the certain prefix'd Time of the Laſt Day is unknown unto us; yet ſo much is known unto us, that ſome of the Fore-runners thereof are not paſt; Some are paſt. Of thoſe that are already paſt, we may reckon theſe:

1. *Falſe Chriſts*, Matth. 24. 5, 23, 24. And ſuch have been in former Times, ſince the Aſcenſion of our Saviour, as appears by *Eccleſiaſtical Hiſtories*: And ſuch have been even in our own Times, and poſſibly may be hereafter. Therefore, though this be paſt, in part, yet, it may be, not perfectly paſt.

2. The Deſtruction of *Jeruſalem* fully, and to the utmoſt.

Some are ſuch, though they be partly paſt, yet they are not perfectly fulfilled, but have a kind of Progreſs, or Continuation; ſuch are many of thoſe Signs Predicted by our Saviour.

Firſt, Wars, and Rumours of Wars, Matth. 24. 6.

Secondly, Perſecution of true *Chriſtians*; though eminently begun ſhortly after our Saviour's Time, in the *Ten Perſecutions*; yet continued in the *Roman* and *Turkiſh* State, *Matth.* 24. 9.

Thirdly, A great Defection and Falling away from the Truth, *Matth.* 24. 12. *The Love of many ſhall wax cold.* 2 Theſſ. 2. 3. *That day ſhall not come, except there come a falling away firſt.* And though in all the Progreſs of the Goſpel, it hath been attended with an Apoſtacy, as appears in the *Aſian* Churches, and in the *Romiſh* Church, and is to be feared in thoſe Churches that now are, or lately have been famous; the Light of the Goſpel Travelling ſtill Weſtward, and *Superſtition*, *Mahometaniſm*, and *Paganiſm* ſtill following it: yet, doubtleſs, before that Great Day, there ſhall be a Great and Viſible Apoſtaſie, more than before, 2 Pet. 3. 4. *In the laſt days ſhall come Scoffers, walking after their own luſts, ſaying, Where is the promiſe of his coming?* The defection ſhall be ſo great, that, *at the coming of our Lord, he ſhall ſcarce find Faith upon the Earth.* A kind of Univerſal Supineneſs and Atheiſm ſhall overſpread the Face of the World, as it did before the Flood, *Matth.* 24. 36.

Fourthly, The Revealing the Man of Sin, *the Son of Perdition*, 2 Theſſ. 2. 3.

Fifthly, The Univerſal Promulgation of the Goſpel to the *Gentiles*, Matth. 24. 14. *And this Goſpel ſhall be Preached in all the World, for a Witneſs unto all Nations, and then ſhall the End come.* Mark 13. 10. *And the Goſpel muſt firſt be publiſhed among all Nations.* And this hath been in part fulfilled in the Preaching of the *Apoſtles* and *Fathers*: So that the Sound thereof hath gone through moſt places of the Known World, *Aſia*, *Europe*, and *Africa*. And it is now Travelling into *America*, by the Means

Means of ſeveral New Plantations of late times there.

There remain yet certain other Preparatories and Prophecies, that are not yet effected, but reſt in Expectation: Such are,

1. The Fulfilling of the Times of the *Gentiles*, and the Converſion of the *Jews* to the Faith of *Chriſt*. This, as it is a thing often Propheſied in the *Old Teſtament*, ſo moſt plainly foretold in the *New*. Luke 21. 24. *Jeruſalem ſhall be troden down of the Gentiles, until the times of the Gentiles be fulfilled.* Rom. 11. 25. *I would not have ye ignorant of this Myſtery, that Blindneſs is in part happened unto Iſrael, until the Fulneſs of the Gentiles be come in. And ſo all Iſrael ſhall be ſaved.* For the ſpace of above Two thouſand years, the Church and Houſhold of God were confined to the Seed of *Abraham*, and the reſt of the World were Strangers unto God and his Covenant. Since the Coming of our Saviour, they have been Scattered, and Born that Curſe which their Fore-fathers Bound, as much as in them lies, *upon themſelves and their Poſterity*, Matth. 27. 25. Or the greateſt part of them have ſuffered a longer Exile from the Preſence of God, from their firſt Captivity under the *Aſſyrian*. And ſince that Rejection of the *Jews*, under the Times of *Veſpaſian*, the whole World hath been called into the Fellowſhip of that Covenant, and the *Jews* ſit under hardneſs. Thus, like *Gideon's Fleece*, Judges 6. 36. in the firſt Age of the World, they alone had the Dew of the Bleſſing of God upon them, when the World round about was dry and barren: And ſince the Crucifying of *Chriſt*, the whole World is filled with that Dew, and the *Jewiſh* Nation dry. But we expect the Manifeſta-

tion of the Mercy and Truth of God, that when he ſhall have gathered and fulfilled the Number of the Elect out of the Multitude of the *Gentiles*, he will take off that Veil of Blindneſs, and Hardneſs, from the Hearts of that People, which were ſometime his own; and that in ſo eminent and notable a manner, that it ſhall be Conſpicuous to the whole World. And it ſeems to be a great Evidence of the Providence and Truth of God, as well in their Diſperſion, as in their Future Calling, that though they are ſown in the World, in ſeveral Places, yet their Perſons and Families are diſtinctly known, both to themſelves and others: That ſo the Truth of thoſe Prophecies, and Curſe of Diſſipation of them, may be legible to all Nations, and that their Converſion, and Re-gathering, in due time, may be viſible and apparent.

2. The Conſumption and Abolition of that Man of Sin, ſtiled, *The Son of Perdition*, 2 Theſſ. 2. *Babylon the Great*, Revel. 18. *Sodom and Egypt*, Revel. 11. 8 *The Great Whore that ſitteth upon many Waters: Myſtery, Babylon the Great: The Mother of Harlots, and Abominations of the Earth*, Revel. 17. 5. *In whom was found the Blood of the Saints, and of all that were ſlain upon the Earth*, Revel. 18. 24.

3. Some Eminent, Remarkable, and Terrible Concuſſion, even of the Powers of Heaven, which ſhall cauſe Aſtoniſhment and Conſternation in the Hearts of Men: ſignified by our Saviour in thoſe Expreſſions, *Matth.* 25. 29. *Matth.* 13. 24. *The Sun and Moon darkned, and the Stars falling, and the Powers of Heaven ſhaken.* Luke 21. 25. *Diſtreſs of Nations, Perplexity, Mens hearts failing them for fear, for*

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the Powers of Heaven shall be shaken. And yet, which is wonderful, such shall be the strange defection that shall fall upon the Generality of Mankind, that they shall not so much as suspect the Coming of our Lord, till they see him in the Clouds. *For as a Snare shall it come on all them that dwell on the face of the Earth,* Luke 21. 35.

II. The *Concomitants of the Resurrection.*

First, The Appearance of *Christ* Personally in the Air, with infinite Glory and Majesty, *Matth.* 24. 30. *Luke* 21. 27. *Mark* 13. 26. All the Angels of Heaven attending upon him, *Matth.* 25. 31. And as their and our Lord shall visibly appear in the greatest Glory that can be conceived, so doubtless the Angels, his Royal Attendants, shall put on their best Dress of Glory, conspicuous unto the very Sense; and the Sense of the Beholders shall be so advanced, as once *Elisha*'s Servants were, 2 *Kings* 6. 17. that they shall behold the Glory of those pure and Incorporeal Creatures attending the Throne of our Saviour in the Clouds.

Secondly, A Majestical and Loud Summons, by the Voice of an Arch-Angel, at the Command of *Christ,* Summoning all that ever were to their Resurrection. And at this Powerful Summons, the Graves shall yield up their Dead, *Matth.* 24. 31. *He shall send his Angels with the Great Sound of a Trumpet, and they shall gather together his Elect from the four Winds.* 1 Cor. 15. 52. *For the Trumpet shall sound, and the Dead shall be raised Incorruptible, and we shall be changed.* 2 Thess. 4. 16. *For the Lord himself shall descend from Heaven with a shout, with the Voice of an*

Arch-Angel, with the Trump of God, and the dead in Chriſt ſhall riſe firſt. And thus, as when God Almighty appear'd from Heaven at the giving of the Law, to augment the Terribleneſs, Majeſty, and Solemnity of that Day, there was not only a viſible diſcovery of the Preſence of God in that great and terrible Fire unto the midſt of Heaven, *Deut.* 4. 12. But there was the *Terrible Sound of a Trumpet, that ſounded long, and waxed louder and louder,* Exod. 19. 19. *That ſhook the very Mountain,* Exod. 19. 18. *And amazed and terrified the hearers,* Heb. 12. 19. So in that great Day, to add to the Majeſty and Terribleneſs thereof, there ſhall be not only Objects of Glory and Amazement unto the Eye, but a Powerful Voice that ſhall be heard from one end of Heaven to the other, Summoning all to Judgment.

Thirdly, A Miſſion of the Holy Angels, to receive the Elect from the Womb of the Grave, and to Conduct them unto the Preſence of *Chriſt* their Redeemer. *Matth.* 24. 31. *They ſhall gather together the Elect from the four Winds, from one end of Heaven unto the other.* Thus the Pure and Glorious Angels glory in this Office, to be *Miniſtring Spirits for them who ſhall be Heirs of Salvation,* Hab. 1. 14. Miniſtring for them in their Infancy, when they are not able to help themſelves. *Matth.* 18. 10. *Their Angels behold the Face of my Father.* Miniſtring for them in their Sufferings, as they did to *Peter* and *Paul.* Miniſtring for them in their Death, and Watching the Expiring of their Souls, to conduct them to a place of reſt, as they did for *Lazarus,* Luke 16. 22. and Miniſtring for them in their Reſurrection, to conduct them to the Preſence of their Saviour.

Fourthly,

Fourthly, An Immediate Change of all the perſons that ſhall be then living upon the Face of the Earth, equivalent to a Reſurrection; in an inſtant ſeparating from them all thoſe corruptible qualities that attend our Houſes of Clay. 1 *Cor.* 15. 52. *The dead ſhall be raiſed, and we ſhall be changed.* And it ſhould ſeem by the Apoſtle, that the Reſurrection ſhall go before that Change, at leaſt in ſome ſmall diſtance, or Portion of time, 2 *Theſſ.* 4. 16, 17. *And the Dead in Chriſt ſhall Riſe firſt, then we which are alive and remain, ſhall be caught up together with them.*

III. The *Conſequents* of the *Reſurrection* are principally theſe;

1. A Diſſolution of the preſent Frame of the World, at leaſt in reſpect of the preſent Conſtitution of it. 2 *Pet.* 3. 10. *The day of the Lord will come as a Thief in the night, wherein the Heavens ſhall paſs away with a great noiſe: The Elements ſhall melt with fervent heat; the Earth alſo, and the works that are therein, ſhall be burnt up.*

2. The Laſt Judgment: And this takes in the Third General Conſideration of the State of the Soul and Body in the Laſt Judgment. And therefore we ſhall conſider it diſtinctly:

Firſt, The Judge.
Secondly, The Perſons to be Judged.
Thirdly, The Rule by which they ſhall be Judged.
Fourthly, The Judgment.
Fifthly, The Execution of the Judgment.

Firſt,

First, Touching the Judge; It ſhall be *Chriſt Jeſus*, our Mediator, God and Man in one Perſon, *Matth.* 24. 31. *When the Son of Man ſhall come in his Glory, and all the Holy Angels with him, then ſhall he ſit upon the Throne of his Glory: And before him ſhall be gathered all Nations.* 2 Cor. 5. 10. *For we muſt all appear before the Judgment Seat of Chriſt, that every one may receive the things done in his Body*, &c. 2 Theſſ. 1. 7. *When our Lord Jeſus ſhall be revealed from Heaven, with his Mighty Angels in Flaming Fire.* True it is, that the Authoritative Judgment is the Father's, but he hath committed the Execution, or Adminiſtration of this Great Tribunal to the Son. Hence our Saviour ſaith, *John* 5. 22, 27. *The Father hath committed all Judgment to the Son.* Acts 17. 31. *He hath appointed a Day in the which he will Judge the World by the Man whom he hath ordained.* And hence it ſeems to be, that *Dan.* 7. 9, 13. *The Ancient of days did ſit, and his Throne was like the fiery flame, and Thouſand Thouſands Miniſtred unto him. And the Judgment was ſet, and the Books were opened.* In the 13th Verſe, *One like the Son of Man came to the Ancient of days, and there was given him Dominion, and Glory, and a Kingdom.* The former importing the Original, or Foundation of the Authority, or the Preparation of the Throne in the Heavens: The latter, the Delegation and Actual Adminiſtration of the Judgment. For it is plain, that the Actual and Viſible Exerciſe of that Power ſhall be in our Saviour. *Matth.* 25. 34. *Then ſhall the King ſay, Come ye Bleſſed of my Father.* Matth. 19. 28. *When the Son of Man ſhall ſit in the Throne of Glory.* And certainly the appearance of this

this day, ſhall be an appearance of unexpreſſible Glory and Majeſty. *Chriſt*, the Second Perſon in the Bleſſed Trinity, cloathed with all the Majeſty and Glory that becomes the Greatneſs of his Perſon, and the Solemnity of the Buſineſs, ſet on a Throne of Glory, eminently conſpicuous to all the Perſons that ever were, or ſhall be; and from whence they ſhall receive their Doom: Accompanied with all the Angels in Heaven, as the Miniſters and Meſſengers of his Will; Accompanied with all the Bleſſed Saints that ever were, or ſhall be, to whom he gives the Honour, nor only to be Beholders, but as it were Aſſeſſors in his Judgment, though not in the Power of his Authority, yet in the Suffrage and Applauſe of his Juſtice, *Mat.* 19. 28. *Ye alſo ſhall ſit on Twelve Thrones, Judging the Twelve Tribes.* 1 Cor. 6. 2. *Know ye not that the Saints ſhall Judge the World?* Thus he ſhall be Glorified in his Saints, and Admired in all them that Believe. Not only admired *by* them, but admired *in* them, for that Impreſſion of Glory and Majeſty that he ſhall then put upon them.

Secondly, The Perſons Judged: All the whole Race of *Adam*, not a Perſon excepted. *John* 28. 29. *The hour is coming, in which all that are in the Graves ſhall hear his Voice, and ſhall come forth: they that have done good, unto the Reſurrection of Life; and they that have done evil, to the Reſurrection of Damnation.* 2 Cor. 5. *We muſt all appear before the Judgment Seat of Chriſt.* And though the Multitude will be exceeding Great, yet it ſhall not confound the Sentence of the Judge, He will with moſt exquiſite and infallible Judgment divide the one from the other: and every Perſon ſhall have ſo diſtinct

and

and clear a Repreſentation of his Sentence unto himſelf, and ſo convincing a Satisfaction therein, and of the Evidence, Clearneſs and Juſtice thereof, as if he were the only Perſon to be Judged.

Thirdly, As the Perſons, ſo the Subject Matter touching which the Judgment ſhall be is conſiderable. And the Subject Matter upon which the Judgment ſhall be, are the Works of Men. *Eccleſ.* 12. 14. *God ſhall bring every Work unto Judgment.* Whatſoever cometh under the Command, or Prohibition of the Law of God, ſhall come under the Judgment of God: And theſe are of Three Kinds;

1. The Works.

2. The Words.

3. The Thoughts and Purpoſes. For all theſe, as they are the Acts of a Rational Creature, come under the Law of God.

1. For the Works of Men: Theſe are the laſt and complete Acts of the Rational Creature, and are the final productions of the Mind formed into External Actions: And all theſe ſhall God bring into Judgment. *Matth.* 16. 27. *The Son of Man ſhall come in the Glory of the Father, and ſhall reward every Man according to his Works.* Some Works there are, which, in the External Adminiſtration of Juſtice among Men, do eſcape their Reward of Humane Diſtributive Juſtice, whether they be Good or Evil: Some, in reſpect of Injuſtice of thoſe that are in Power; Others, in reſpect of the Impo-

Impotence of thoſe that ſhould Reward, or Puniſh. And thus many Offences paſs unpunished, becauſe they are committed by Perſons above the reach of Humane Juſtice: Others, in reſpect of the Secreſie of the Fact, that they avoid the Detection, and conſequently the Execution of Juſtice. But it shall not be ſo in that Day: As all Perſons are under the Authority, ſo all Perſons are under the Power of this Judge. *Revel.* 18. 8. *Strong is the Lord that Judgeth.* And as the Power of the Offender shall not exempt the Offence from Judgment; ſo neither shall the Secreſie of the Work eſcape the Judgment; *For he ſhall bring into Judgment every Work, with every Secret thing, whether it be Good, or whether it be Evil,* Eccleſ. 12. 14. *In that Day God ſhall Judge the Secrets of Men by Jeſus Chriſt,* Rom. 2. 16. *For there is nothing covered that ſhall not be revealed, and hid, that ſhall not be made known,* Matthew 10. 26. There is not a good Action in all thy Life, though never ſo ſecretly done, but then it shall be Proclaim'd before Men and Angels: Not a Prayer that thou haſt made in thy Cloſet, when no Ear heard thee but the Almighty: Not a Tear shed for thy Sins, when no Eye ſaw thee, but his that made thee: Not an Alms given ſo privately, that the Party relieved knew not his Benefactor: Not a Cup of cold Water given in the Name of a Diſciple, though he knew not from whence it came: Not an Acting in Sincerity for the Glory of thy Maker, though hid and veiled from the Eyes of all Men living; but shall then be made as manifeſt as the Sun, and attended with an open Reward. Matth. 6. 26. *The Father that ſeeth in ſecret, ſhall reward thee openly.* Again, if thy Villanies be hatched in Darkneſs, and none privy to them but thine own

own Conſcience: If thou hide thy Counſels of Miſchef as low as Hell, that no Mortal Eye can diſcover them; If thou tranſlate thy Miſchief into other hands, and act by them, whilſt they and the World think they act by themſelves, and by their own Contrivances and Principles: If thou Maſk thy Wickedneſs under the diſguiſe of Religoin, Holineſs, Neceſſity, Pretences of Good Ends; ſo that thou doſt not only hide thy Villainy from the World, but even from thy Self; yet in that day all this ſhall be detected in the Preſence of a Light Brighter than the Sun; in the Preſence of the whole World: and all thoſe Diſguiſes taken off, and thy Wickedneſs rendred, as it is, without any other dreſs, than of its own Shame and Vileneſs. And as thus the Sins of Commiſſion ſhall be unveil'd, though never ſo ſecret; ſo ſhall thy Sins of Omiſſion, and that with all the Circumſtances and Aggravations. Such a time thou hadſt an opportunity to do this or that Good Work, to the Honour of thy Maker, to the Good of thy Brother, to the Salvation of thy Soul: And thou hadſt not only an Opportunity, but the Secret Motion of the Spirit of Grace in thy Conſcience did importune thee to lay hold on the Opportunity: And yet thou didſt neglect the Opportunity, deſpiſe the Perſuaſion. *Matth.* 25. 45. The World condemned for Sins of Omiſſion.

2. And as thus it is for Works, ſo for Words: for theſe come under the Law of God, and ſhall come under the Judgment of Reward and Puniſhment. *Matth.* 12. 37. *By thy Words thou ſhalt be Juſtified, and by thy Words thou ſhalt be condemned.* Therefore our very words ſhall come into Judgment; for, *they*

are

are the immediate productions of the heart, Matth. 12. 34. Inſtances we have of both, that in that Great Day, God the Judge will bring into the Judgment of Approbation, Good Words tending to the Honour of our Maker, or the Good of others. *Mal.* 3. 16. *Then they that feared the Lord ſpake often one to another; and the Lord hearkened and heard it: and a Book of Remembrance was written before him for them that feared the Lord, and thought upon his Name.*

On the other ſide, ſinful Words ſhall come into Condemnation: tending to the diſhonour of God, Blaſphemies, *Taking his Name in vain*, Matth. 12. 31. To the Reproach of our Neigbour: Curſings: Upbraidings. *Matth.* 5. 22. *Whoſoever ſhall ſay to his Brother, Thou Fool, ſhall be in danger of Hell-fire.* Vain idle words not ſeaſon'd with Salt. *Matth.* 12. 36. *But I ſay unto you, that every idle word that Men ſhall ſpeak, they ſhall give an account thereof in the Day of Judgment.* Epheſ. 5. 4. *Fooliſh talking and jeſting.* And ſurely if of idle and fooliſh words, much more of *ſinful* words, *Lying*, Revel. 22. 15. *Whiſpering and Backbiting*, Rom. 1. 29, 30. *Corrupt Communication*, Epheſ. 4. 29. *The corrupt exhalation of that open Sepulchre, a ſinful heart*, Rom. 3. 13. *The fume of Hell-fire within*, James 3. 6. And ſurely, as here was much reaſon, that the Tongue, that great Inſtrument of the Glory and Good of others, ſhould come under the Law of God; ſo the breach of that Law muſt needs come under Judgment.

3. As the Works and Words of Man ſhall come under this Judgment; ſo ſhall the Thoughts and Secret Motions of the Soul. And indeed it is the Inward Action of the Soul that moſt properly comes under the Law of God. As it hath an Operation without

without the Concurrence of the Body, ſo it is that which doth Specificate all the External Actions, and gives them their true denomination of Good or Evil. The very External Worship of God enjoyned by him, if not acted by a Soul rightly Principled and Moved, becomes *an abomination to him*, Iſai. 1. 13. And thoſe things that are for the matter the ſame in the External Act, are oftentimes diverſified into Good or Evil, or Neither; according to the diverſity of the temper of the Soul, whereby they are done. And hence it was that God meaſured the Wickedneſs of the Old World, by the Conſtitution and Temper of the Motions of their Soul. *Gen.* 6. 5. *And God ſaw that the Wickedneſs of man was great in the Earth: And that every imagination of the Thoughts of his heart was only evil continually.* And hence it is, when under the Law, God ſhewed Man the Meaſure of that Purity which he required from him, he ſhows it in the Root: *Thou ſhalt love the Lord thy God with all thy Heart, and with all thy Soul*, Deut. 6. 5. Styled by our Saviour, *The Firſt and Great Commandment*, Matth. 22. 37. And our Saviour giving the true and natural Scope and Senſe of the Law of God, brings it ſtill to the working of the Soul; as that which was originally and eſpecially the Subject of the Law. In the matters belonging to the Firſt Table — *John* 4. 24. *God is a Spirit, and will be worſhipped in Spirit and Truth.* In the matter of the Second Table, *Matth.* 5. 28. *Whoſoever looketh at a Woman to luſt after her, hath committed Adultery in his Heart.* Matth. 5. 21. Unadviſed Anger comes under the Command, *Thou ſhalt not kill.*

It is true, that with men the External Action is the Subject of Diſtributive Juſtice, becauſe the Thoughts

Thoughts and Intentions of the Heart are not discoverable to Man but by the External Act: Yet when that Act, be it Good or Evil, is Rewarded or Punished, it is not even among Men, meerly in reference to the Act, but because the Act is the product of the Internal Man, the External Sign of the Will. And hence, even Morally, the External Act not proceeding from the Will, is neither Rewarded nor Punished; as in Fortuitous Acts, and Acts of Persons wanting their use of Reason.

But Almighty God, whose Prerogative alone it is to *know the Heart*, Jer. 17. 9, 10. begins not with the Action, but with the Heart, and thereby measures the Action, if produced; or the Man, if not produced, into Action: And because he hath the Prerogative to determine of the Motions of the Heart though never produced into an External Act, therefore also his Law hath the Prerogative to lay hold of the very Motions of the Heart. And hence it is, that as Almighty God being the most Pure and Immortal Spirit, gets within the Spirit of Man, and discerns those Invisible Operations of the Soul to the Word and Law of God, enters into the very Spirit of Man, and carries with it an Obligation, even upon those secret and invisible Motions of the Soul, Heb. 4. 12. *Piercing even unto the dividing asunder of Soul and Spirit; and is a discerner or discriminator of the thoughts and intents of the Heart.* And therefore as the Law of God extends unto, and lays hold of the very Thoughts, so the violation of that Law, in the very Thoughts, contracts a Guilt upon the Soul. Hence it was, that that Holy Man *Job*, concluded a necessity of a Sacrifice, even for the Sin of the Thought, Job 1. 5. *It may be my Sons have sinned, and cursed God in*

their Hearts. Simon, that Curſed Man, was in the Gall of Bitterneſs, even while *the very thoughts of his heart were not forgiven*, Acts 8. 22. And the Wiſe Man tells us, Prov. 24.9. *That the thought of fooliſhneſs is ſin.*

Now becauſe the Subject matter of the Judgment are the Works, Words and Thoughts of Men, the ſame being the ſubject matter of the Law of God, it is neceſſary that there be an Evidence, or Conviction of the Fact: For ſuch ſhall the Solemnity of that Judgment be, that there ſhall be no leſs Evidence to diſcover the Fact upon which the Judgment is to paſs, than there ſhall be Juſtice in the Judgment upon that fact. And as every Man ſhall be Judged moſt exactly according to his works; So there is a neceſſity that every one of thoſe Works, upon which the Judgment ſhall paſs, muſt be evidently and convincingly proved upon the Perſon Judged.

Now we muſt know, there are Two Books, wherein the Actions of Men and there Words and Thoughts are Written: and theſe Books ſhall then be opened Dan. 7. 10. *The Judgment was ſet, and the Books were opened.* Revel. 20. 12. *I ſaw the Dead, ſmall and great ſtand before God, and the Books were opened.*

Firſt, The Book of *Conſcience.*

Secondly, The Book of *God's Knowledge*: The former a Teſtimony within us; the latter without us: But both ſo exactly agreeing, as if the former were but a Tranſcript, or counterpart of the other. Theſe Two great Witneſſes,

Witneſſes, without exception, ſhall ſtate and determine the Fact impartially and unqueſtionably.

I. The Book of *Conſcience.* This is a Book, wherein, from the firſt uſe of our Reaſon, till our Death, we are continually Writing all our Thoughts, Words and Actions. A conſtant and Vigilant Companion, and Obſerver of all the Walk of our Lives, and of our Hearts. There is not the ſmalleſt good or evil Action, or Paſſage of our Life, but, whether we obſerve it or not, here it is Regiſtred, and leaves the Character and Impreſſion of it ſelf in this Marble. And what a Hiſtory ſhould we find of our ſelves, if we could but diſtinctly Read this Book? It may be here and there ſome few ſcattered Entries of a Good Work, a Good Prayer, a Good Purpoſe; but yet preſently Inſcribed with it ſo many vain Thoughts in that Prayer; ſo much Vain glory or Self-end in that good Action; the Rejection of that purpoſe in Practice; and all the reſt of that Mighty Volume filled with the Hiſtory of our ſinful and impure Actions, our vain and unprofitable and ſinful words, our deceitful, diſobedient, rebellious, unprofitable Thoughts. Our beſt Actions entred, but the defects and contaminations thereof entred in the ſame Paper with them: And the reſt nothing elſe, but a Tedious Bloody Bill of Debts of Guilt to our Maker, with all the aggravations of them. And theſe Inſcriptions engraven with the Point of a Diamond in Sheets of Steel, not capable of any Obliteration, unleſs it be by the Blood of *Jeſus Chriſt.* It is true, whiles we are in this Life, we throw duſt upon the Writing: Or, it

may be, in the Writing of a New Leaf, we turn over that which is past, and never trouble ourselves more about it all our Lives after: New Sins, as it were, antiquating them that are past, and silencing their Remembrance. But God Almighty shall, at the Last Day, open this Book and cast off the dust from it: Then every *Item* shall be as legible, and as visible to the view, as it was at the time of the first acting of it. The multitude of the particulars shall not hinder the distinct representation of them to the Mind. It was one of *Job*'s greatest Complaints, Job 13. 26. *That God made him to possess the Iniquities of his Youth.* Job 14. 17. *That his Trangression was sealed up in a Bag.* When God was pleased to open those Entries that were made in the Conscience, even of his own Servant, those very sins which were of the Ancientest Date, and therefore least remembred, the Sins of his Youth, which had the less malignity, because probably acted with less deliberation; Yet, when God is pleased to Unveil the Conscience, these Stale, these Youthful sins, made a hideous Representation on *Job* himself: How much more terrible shall it be, when all those Remembrances of the Conscience shall be at once rendred unto the view, and *all set in order before a Man?* Psalm 50. 21. And this is that *Engraving of Sin upon the Heart*, Jerem. 17. 1. *With the Point of a Diamond*, That Writes in Wounds, and not in Colours only.

2. Again, the Eternal God hath his Book, which shall then be open'd; and in that Book are Written all the Actions of Men. On the one side, not the least Good Action but there it is Entred: As he telleth our Wandrings, so he *Registreth our Tears*

Pſal. 56. 8. Not a few good words ſpoken in ſincerity and love to God, but there is a *Memorandum* made of them, *Mal.* 3. 16. And on the other ſide, all thoſe Evils that are done by the Children of Men, they are all there Regiſtred. And though we might hope that ſome of theſe might ſlip the Diligence and Animadverſion of the Recorder that is within us, there is no hope to avoid the Record that Almighty God makes: for *he is greater than our Conſcience, and knoweth all things,* 1 John 3. 20.

There are Two Acts of the Divine Wiſdom that are of infinite concernment for us practically to know and remember, which nevertheleſs we are apt to forget.

Firſt, That all our ways, even of our very hearts, are ſtrictly obſerved by God, Jer. 16. 17. *For mine eyes are upon all their ways, they are not hid from my face, neither is their iniquity hid from mine eyes.*

Secondly, That what is once ſeen by God, is always ſeen and not forgotten. It is true, we ſin daily, and the new ſins obliterate the ſenſe and remembrance of the old: But it is not ſo with God, Hoſ. 7. 2. *They conſider not in their hearts that I remember all their Wickedneſs.* That ſin that ſeems to be loſt, is but laid up, Hoſ 13. 12. *The iniquity of Ephraim is bound up, his Sin is hid.* And when God is pleaſed to reckon with a Man, or Nation, even in this Life, he can recal a Sin paſt and forgotten many years ago, and render it viſible to the Soul in all its Dimenſions, Pſal. 79. 8. *Remember not againſt us former Iniquities.* How much more ſhall it be in that Great Day when he ſhall, to the uttermoſt, ſet our

Iniquities before him, and make them conſpicuous in the Light of his Countenance?

And yet there is one remains beſides this: The Two former are ſuch Books as we cannot think of without trembling. Every moment of time we furniſh new Materials for the Two former Books; and if we look back a little into our Selves and our Lives, we ſhall find very little but black and ſad Materials and Reckonings, when every Sin makes our Soul a Debtor of its whole Self unto Eternity. What ſhall become of us, when almoſt every inſtant of our Lives gives in ſuch an *Item* againſt us? And if perchance we do any thing that is good, yet it is ſpoiled in the doing, mixed with ſo many defects, ſpots and enormities, that can render us but little comfort to behold it. And ſurely if either of theſe Two former Books be opened againſt the beſt of Men at that day, they muſt, with everlaſting ſhame, inherit the portion due unto their ſins. But here is the comfort of all; *The Blood of Chriſt that cleanſeth us from all ſins*, 1 Joh. 1. 7. Though it is true, the beſt of Men have run infinitely in Debt to God, and filled the Book of Conſcience, and the Book of God's Remembrance full of Sad Accounts; yet our Saviour, if we have laid hold on him, and entred into Covenant with God in him, hath paid all our Reckonings, and the Books are croſſed.

And upon this, *Firſt* of all the Book of Conſcience, that was all Stained with Crimſon Inſcriptions, would have been more terrible unto us than Hell it ſelf; yet when this Conſcience *is ſprinkled with the Blood of Chriſt*, Heb. 10. 22. the Conſcience is Healed, the Stains Obliterated, the Accounts Diſcharged, and Colour thereof quite changed;

ed: And though as well the Conſcience, as the Sins inſcribed in it, were as *Scarlet*, *they are become as white as Snow*, Iſai. *t.* 18.

Secondly, And as thus the Conſcience is healed, and all the Black and Bloody Inſcriptions thereof Defaced, ſo is Almighty God pleaſed, upon the ſame Account, to ſtrike out all the remembrance of Sins paſt out of his Book of Remembrance: This is that which is ſo frequently expreſſed by thoſe effectual expreſſions, Pſal. 22. 1. *Sin covered* Iſa. 43. 25. *Blotting out Tranſgreſſions, ſo as they ſhall not be remembred.* Iſai. 44. 22. *Blotting them out as a Cloud*, that after its Diſſipation leaves no mark where it was. Jer. 50. 20. *So diſcharging them, that upon a diligent ſearch they ſhall not be found.* Nay, they ſhall not only be removed from the view of Men and Angels, but even in the account of Almighty God they ſhall be as if they never had been, *Jer.* 31. 34. *For I will forgive their Iniquity, and remember their Sin no more.*

And all this ariſeth upon the producing of that Third Book by the Mediator unto the Father, *Revel.* 20. 12. *A Book of Life*; a Regiſter of all thoſe whoſe Debt our Lord hath paid: and the Debt being Diſcharged, the former Books are no longer to be uſed as Evidence againſt them. Their Dear Mediator, who is now to be their Judge, brings in an Acquittance for all that Large Roll, which otherwiſe might have ſtood againſt them, *For he hath born their Sins*, Iſa. 53. 11. And upon the Day of his Paſſion, Nailed this Hand-writing unto his Croſs, hanged it upon the File, as that which he hath paid, and ſo is no more to be mention'd.

Fourthly, We, come to the *Rule*, whereby all Men shall be Judged. Though in respect of the most Infinite Obligation of the Creature unto God for their greatest Good, their Being, and their Preservation; it had been most unquestionably Just, that upon the ground of this absolute and infinite Dominion over his Creatures, he might have imposed what Law, and under what Sanction he pleased; yet he was pleased to enter into a Pact and Covenant with his Creature, and so to bind him, not simply upon the Absolutions of his own Power and Authority, but partly even upon the voluntary Susception, Stipulation and Submission of his Creature. And the Law of this Covenant is that which shall be the Rule of the Judgment of that Great Day. Now this Covenant of God is double:

I. The Covenant of Works; the Covenant made with Man in his first Creation; and this extends to all Mankind, as before appears, which is a Covenant of Life, in case of Perfect Obedience to the Will and Law of God given to Man in his Creation; and a Covenant of Death, and the Curse, in case of any failing. And when afterwards this Covenant, and the remembrance thereof, was very much defaced, God was pleased expressly to renew the same with a Select People, which he picked out of Mankind, the *Jews*; which Renewed Covenant differ'd from the former:

First, In the Extent of it; the former was Universal; this contracted to a Select People: Yet so, as it did not Abrogate the former, but Illustrate it.

Secondly,

Secondly, In the Nature of it: For whereas the former was purely a Covenant of Works, this was not so; but though it seemed to run in the same tenor, yet there was under it secretly lodged a Covenant of Grace, even the Sacrifice of *Christ* Typified in it, intended by it, and that alone made it useful to as many as laid hold of that Mystery that was intended in it according to that Manifestation that God was pleased to send along with it.

II. The Covenant of Grace, *Christ Jesus*, and him Crucified, Received, as Given by God; and this Receiving of *Christ* was the very Tenor of this Covenant.

God was pleased, after the Covenant of Works became ineffectual unto Mankind, in respect of their disability to perform it, to reach out *Christ* unto them, as a Covenant of Life to as many as Receive him: and the Ordinary way of Receiving him, is, *By Believing in his Name*, John 1. 12. Now, according to these Covenants, shall the whole World be Judged. For all Mankind are under one of these Covenants: Whosoever is not within the latter, is certainly within the compass of the former.

Now of such as are under that First Covenant, as not being Partakers of the Benefit of the Second, there are Four Ranks of Men given us in the Scripture.

First,

First, Such as are purely under the First Covenant, without any farther degree: Such are those that never heard either of *Law* or *Goſpel*. Such are thoſe ſpoken of, Rom. 2. 12. *As many as have ſinned without the Law, ſhall periſh without Law.*

And though it is true, that God were moſt juſt, if he ſhould Judge even theſe by the ſevereſt Rule of that exact Law which was given to *Adam*, becauſe they were within that Covenant; Yet the Scripture warrants us to think, that in that Day he will proceed to Judge theſe Perſons, even by ſo much of that Law that hath been Communicated to them, either in the External Means of Good Diſcipline or Education; or that ſecret Dictate of their own Conſcience, ſtiled by the Apoſtle, *The Law written in their hearts*, Rom. 2. 14, 15.

This is one of thoſe Two Great Parties that ſhall be the Object of Vengeance in that Day, 1 *Theſſ.* 18. *Taking Vengeance on them which know not God*, &c. The Knowledge of God is ſo viſibly diſcovered in the Creature, that it ſhall be a moſt juſt Conviction of ſuch Perſons in that Day, Rom. 1. 20. *For the Inviſible things of him from the Creation of the World are clearly ſeen, being underſtood by the things that are made even his Eternal Power and Godhead, ſo that they are without excuſe.*

And certainly in that Day, the whole World of Men that have the uſe of Reaſon, will be found guilty before him, even in theſe things, in not knowing thoſe things concerning God, which by the

the Light of Nature they might know; or in not observing some of those very dictates, which that Truth once known or the Light of their own Conscience did carry them unto, without any necessity of resorting to so much of that Law whereof they were ignorant. This is that which is *Perishing without the Law.*

Secondly, Such as, though still under the First Covenant, have nevertheless a Superaddition of Light, and consequently of Guilt, by the accession of that renewed Covenant of Works given by the Ministration of *Moses.*

And this concerns principally the *Jews*, who superadded another Covenant to the former, and so have a superadded Guilt by their Offence.

1. Because against greater Light.

2. Because against a Renewed Covenant, and by them violated, Rom. 2. 12. *Such as have sinned in the Law, shall be judged by the Law*; and is, in effect, the scope of that Second Chapter.

Thirdly, Such as have had an Offer of *Christ*, the Second Covenant, and yet have rejected it.

These though they are still under the Obligation of the First Covenant, yet by rejecting either the Faith, or Obedience of *Christ*, they super-add a greater guilt to themselves than any of the former: And therefore it is stiled by our Saviour, the Condemnation, John 3. 19. *This is the Condemnation,*

nation, that Light is come into the World, and Men loved Darkneſs rather than Light. We have as well thoſe of the firſt, as thoſe of the latter Rank joyned together, 2 *Theſſ.* 1. 8. *To render Vengeance on them that know not God, and that obey not the Goſpel of our Lord Jeſus Chriſt.* The former are Judged, becauſe the Works of God leave them unexcuſable in their Ignorance of God, or neglect of the Duty that reſults upon that Knowledge; The latter are Judged unexcuſable, becauſe the Goſpel and the Meſſage of it is Proclaimed to them, and yet rejected by them.

Fourthly, Such as have not only the Light of Nature, the Light of the Written Law of God, the Light of the Goſpel tendred, but that Light in ſome meaſure received, and afterwards rejected, which adds Apoſtacy to their Rebellion: and this ſuper-adds a higher Guilt than any of the Former, Heb. 10. 26. *If we ſin wilfully, after we have received the Knowledge of the Truth, there remains no Sacrifice for Sin, but a certain fearful looking for of Judgment and fiery indignation.*

The former ſorts of Men are not within the Benefit of the Second Covenant, nor can expect the Fruit thereof in the Judgment.

But there are a Company of Perſons that have laid hold of this Second Covenant, and ſhall be Judged by it: Such as have received *Chriſt* as he is Reached out unto the World:

Received

Received him as their Righteouſneſs, as their Sacrifice, as their Inſtructor, as their Commander and General.

The Obedience of Faith is as Univerſal as the Law, or Command of Faith, it faſtens upon every part of its Object: And to ſuch there is no Condemnation, Rom. 8. 1. *Whoſoever believeth in me ſhall not come into Condemnation, but is paſſed from Death to Life*, John 5. 24.

This Diſcharge and Acquittal of theſe Perſons ſtands bottomed upon the Immutable Truth and Juſtice of God. For though it was his own free and undeſerved Goodneſs that at firſt moved him to tender this Second Covenant to Mankind, to Accept of the Righteouſneſs and Satisfaction of Another for them. And when none in Heaven or Earth could be found to Perform the one, or Undergo the other, to ſend his own Son to do and Suffer it, and to Proclaim to Mankind, that as many as betake themſelves to this Covenant, and do accordingly lay hold of it, to give to them the Pardon of their Sins, and the Enjoyment of Bleſſedneſs.

Yet when this great word is pronounced by him, his Truth and Juſtice are engaged in the Performance of it: The Righteouſneſs and Satisfaction of *Chriſt* is as effectually theirs, as if performed by them: Their Debt Paid, and their Perſons Accepted.

And

And ſo in that Great Day, the Great God ſhall, in the Face of the whole WORLD, have the Glory as well of his *JUSTICE*, as of his *MERCY*, in the SALVATION of his Saints.

2 Tim.

2 Tim. I. 10.

And hath brought Life and Immortality to light through the Gospel.

AMONG the many Great Advantages that are Conveyed unto Mankind by the Gospel of *Jesus Christ*, there are these of Principal Moment.

First, A full and clear discovery, that there is a State of Life and Immortality of Mankind after the Dissolution of the Lives we enjoy in this Inferior World.

Secondly, A full and clear Discovery of the Nature and Kinds of this Estate of Life and Immortality, namely, that it is a State of Rewards and Punishments; a State of Reward with Everlasting Life and Happiness to the Righteous, and a State of Everlasting Life and Misery to the Wicked.

Thirdly, A full discovery of an easie and effectual Means of the avoiding of that Future Life of Misery, and of the attainment of that Future Estate of Life of Happiness.

I shall not enter into a Large Discourse of these Excellent Discoveries, but only briefly consider these things.

1. The

1. The great Importance of the true and evident Diſcovery of theſe great Truths.

2. The great deficiency that there was in theſe Diſcoveries, before the Light of the Goſpel came into the World.

3. The great Diſcovery made by the Goſpel of theſe great and important Truths.

4. The great Evidences for the ſatisfaction and Conviction of the Truths of theſe Diſcoveries thus made in the Goſpel.

1. Concerning the former of theſe, namely, the great Importance of this Truth, and of the full and evident diſcovery thereof. And this appears evident to every Man that doth but conſider the nature of this Matter.

We are Born, and Live in this World, according to the greateſt ordinary Account, about Threeſcore and Ten Years, and then we die, and are no more ſeen in this World. Of what a vaſt Momentous Concernment is it for us to know, that there is an Everlaſting Eſtate of Happineſs or Miſery, according to the nature of the Tranſaction of our Lives here, that doth moſt certainly and infallibly attend us after Death? The importance of the knowledge of this is more than all the reſt of our knowledge of all other things, in very many reſpects: *Firſt*, The bare knowledge of the thing it ſelf is a moſt excellent Subject to be known, if there were nothing elſe in it. But, *Secondly*, It is a knowledge of a thing that doth moſt neceſſarily, nearly, and intimately

mately concern us; even much more than our very Lives in this World. This Life paſſeth away as a ſhadow, but the Life of Rewards and Puniſhments is a Life Everlaſting, and Unchangeable; and therefore it is of more concernment to us, both to know it, and to know how to attain that Bleſſed Life of Happineſs, than to attain all the Glory and Happineſs that this preſent Tranſitory Life can afford. And, *Thirdly*, The Knowledge of this Truth is of huge Moment, not only for the right ordering of our preſent Life here, in order to the attainment of that Everlaſting Bleſſed Life; but even for a Right, and Wiſe, and Comfortable Management and Enjoyment of the preſent Life we have in this World. For moſt certainly, without the Proſpect, Hope and expectation of this Future State, the Life of Man is more unhappy and miſerable than the lives of the Beaſts that periſh. The knowledge therefore of this great Truth is of the greateſt Moment to the Children of Men; and the Ignorance thereof is the moſt unhappy and hurtful Ignorance of any thing in the World; becauſe it is an Ignorance of that, which moſt concerns us to know, becauſe that Knowledge is principally neceſſary for the avoiding of the greateſt Evil, and the attaining of the greateſt Good that can poſſibly befall us.

2. Touching the Second, namely the Deficiency that was in the World, in order to the Diſcovery, before the Goſpel came: This principally conſiſted in theſe things; 1. A want of a ſufficient Evidence, that there is any ſuch Eſtate after Death. 2 A want of a ſufficient Light, to diſcover what that Future Eſtate was to be. 3. A want of a diſcovery of a ſufficient means, how that part of the

Eſtate of Everlaſting Happineſs was to be attained, and the Eſtate of Everlaſting Miſery to be avoided. And this Deficiency in theſe things will appear, if we take a Survey, Firſt, of the State of the *Gentile* Knowledge, in Relation to theſe things. Secondly, In Relation to the Diſcoveries made to the *Jews* under the Law.

Firſt, As to the Diſcoveries of theſe Truths unto the *Gentile*. It is very true, that partly by an Univerſal Tradition, derived probably from the Common Parents of Mankind, partly by ſome Glimmering of Natural Light, in the Natural Conſciences at leaſt of ſome of the Heathen, there ſeemed to be ſome Common Perſwaſion of a Future Eſtate of Rewards and Puniſhments. But, Firſt, It was but weak and dim, and was even in many of the wiſeſt of them overborn; ſo that it was rather a ſuſpicion, or at moſt a weak and faint Perſwaſion, rather than a ſtrong and firm Conviction: And hence it became very unoperative and ineffectual to the moſt of them, when they had greateſt need of it namely, upon imminent, or incumbent Temporal Evils of great Preſſure. But, where the Perſwaſion was firmeſt amongſt them, yet ſtill they were in the Dark what it was; and yet much more in the Dark, in reference to the means of attaining that Future State of Happineſs; and this Darkneſs begot in them thoſe various Fictions and Fabulous Imaginations, eſpecially among the *Poets*, that even rendred the Main Hypotheſis more doubtful than otherwiſe it would have been. And thoſe various Superſtitions, and Idolatrous Worſhips and Rites, and Performances, which they deſigned as the Means of attaining that Future Happineſs, which they thus Darkly, and, under various Fabulous Diſguiſes, entertained. *Secondly*,

Secondly, If we come to the Diſcoveries made unto the *Jews* which were certainly much greater than thoſe that the *Gentiles* had by the Light of Nature; yet this we have reaſon to think that although many Excellent Men among them, did, through thoſe many Types, and Shadows, as it were at a diſtance, ſee the Heavenly *Canaan*, and the *Meſſiah*, through whom it was to be attained. Yet the Divine Diſpenſation under the Law was Dark and Obſcure, in Relation to the Eſtate of Future Rewards and Puniſhments, in compariſon of what is Revealed in the Goſpel. Their Promiſes were, for the moſt part, of Temporal Benefits, and their Threatnings of Temporal Puniſhments, and their Worſhip and Services were very much under Shadows and External Adminiſtrations, ſo were their Rewards and Puniſhments.

Yet it muſt be agreed, that even under that Dark Adminiſtration, there were greater Evidences of the Future Life than were manifeſted generally to other Nations: The Examples of the Aſſumption of *Enoch* and *Elias*, the Revivings of the *Shunamites* Son, Buried in the Prophet's Grave, and the ſeveral Paſſages in *Job* 19. 25. *Iſai.* 26. 19. *Ezek.* 37. *Dan.* 12. 2. and divers other Paſſages in the *Old Teſtament*; together with a common Received Tradition among that Nation, did give them a Belief, or Perſwaſion of a Life to come after this, and of the Reſurrection; and this the Apoſtle witneſſeth of the Patriarchs, and Holy Men under the *Old Teſtament*, *Heb.* 11. 10, 13, 14, 35, *&c.* And ſo far this Perſwaſion was ſetled in that People, that in the time of our Saviour, and unto this Day, the Perſwaſion of a Future Life, and the Reſurrection was generally received among them, excepting only the Sect of the *Sadducees*.

But although this be certainly true, yet these things are evident, *viz. First*, That the Doctrine of the Resurrection, and the Future Life was not so clearly deliver'd under the *Old Testament*, as under the *New*. *Secondly*, That the Proof and Evidence thereof was not so plain and Convincing under the *Old Testament*, as under the *New*. *Thirdly*, That the Manner and Circumstances thereof was not so explicitly and directly delivered under the *Old Testament* as under the *New*, as will appear in what ensues.

Thirdly, Therefore touching the Discoveries of Life and Immortality by the Gospel *Christ Jesus*, the same Gospel hath these Prelations and Pre-eminences in Relation thereunto, *viz.* 1. It doth contain a full and explicit Narrative thereof. 2. It doth deliver a full and clear Method of the attaining of the State of Happiness, and avoiding the State of Misery that it thus discovers. 3. It Evidenceth and Asserteth the Truth and Certainty of what it so delivers, upon most evident and convincing Evidences.

Touching the former of these, the Gospel doth principally Instruct us in these Two Matters, in Relation to the business in hand; namely, *First*, It doth assert, that there is a Life to ensue after this Transitory Life, and it rests not there in that General Assertion; but, *Secondly*, It shews us, with great plainness, what that Life is; *viz.* 1. That it is an Everlasting Life: That it is a Life of Everlasting Rewards and Happiness to the Good, of Everlasting Punishments and Misery to the Bad: That there shall be, as the way to these Everlasting Rewards and Punishments, a Resurrection of the Good and Bad,

Bad, and a Re-union of their Bodies and Souls; and a Change of those that are Living. That this shall be Effected by the Voice of an Arch-Angel, Proclaiming the Last Judgment, with Summoning all to it. That hereupon an Universal Judgment shall pass upon every Man, shews us, who shall be the Judge, what shall be the Rule of his Judgment, what the Evidences, what the Sentence, what the Execution of either Sentence; namely, of Absolution, a perfect enjoyment of Everlasting Happiness, in an Immortal Soul, united with a Glorious, Spiritualized and Immortal Body: And of the Sentence of Condemnation, with an Everlasting Separation from the Comfortable Presence of God, and an Everlasting Conclusion of Soul and Body under the Torments of Hell Fire. And all these Discoveries are made plainly, evidently, and intelligible to the Sense of every ordinary Capacity, together with the Circumstances of Time, Place, Persons, Company, and all other things that may render the whole Manifestation plain, perspicuous, intelligible and reasonable.

2. The Second thing the Gospel discovers, is the Means and Method of the attaining of that Life of Happiness, and avoiding that Life of Misery. And surely, without this, the Discovery of the former had not been so useful to Mankind: It might indeed amuse and astonish, and perplex him, to know, that there should be such a Future Estate, either of Happiness or Misery, unto one of which all Mankind was Consigned. But it could not settle, nor compose him, without the Knowledge of the Means of obtaining so great a Good, and avoiding so great an Evil as this prospect dis-

covers: The Gospel therefore hath not only discover'd these Two Great, though different Sentiments, of the Future Life, but hath also laid open, and discover'd the Track, the Path, the Way, to avoid the one, and attain the other; even a plain, and certain, and safe, and Infallible Way; namely, the Repentance for Sin past, Obedience for the time to come, and Faith in the Son of God, who is the Resurrection, the Way, the Truth, and the Life: And his Doctrine and Directions are plainly set out in the Gospel, intelligible to every common Understanding, and easie to any sincere and honest Endeavour.

3. The Third Prelation and Advantage of the Gospel, in reference to this Discovery of Life and Immortality, is that it doth not only give that clear, and Explicite Discovery thereof before-mention'd, but also it gives the most full and clear Evidence, that what it so discovers, is most certainly and infallibly True: and annexeth to the Discovery a full and convincing Manifestation of the Truth of the thing so discover'd, answerable to the weight and importance of the thing discover'd.

It is very true, that Almighty God out of his Care and Providence over Mankind, in order to their Everlasting End, hath been Graciously pleased to afford unto Mankind certain Evidences of this Great Truth, of the Immortality of the Soul, and a Future State of Rewards and Punishments; as namely, 1. A secret Anticipation, as it were, in the Minds and Consciences of the Generality of Mankind of this Truth: 2. An Universal Tradition thereof, which hath, in great measure, reached unto the Generality of Mankind, and by them

them commonly received: Which, although it hath been handed over from Man to Man, yet we have all the reaſon imaginable to believe it real at firſt, by ſome means in its firſt Original, delivered out to the Parents of Mankind, by Revelation from God himſelf. 3. An Admirable Congruity of this Suppoſition, both to the Juſtice and Perfection, which, even by the Light of Nature, we are bound to attribute to Almighty God; and alſo a Suitableneſs and Congruity thereof to the Condition and Exigence of Mankind, and the Providential Regiment and Ordering thereof.

But in as much as by length of time, and diſtance of this firſt Revelation, and the want of a perſpicuous Evidence of the manner of giving out of this firſt Revelation, and alſo for that by the Prevalence of the Corruptions, and decays of the Nature of Men, this great Important Truth of the Future Life of Rewards and Puniſhments, did, or at leaſt might languiſh and decay in the Minds of Men. Almighty God hath been pleaſed, by Reiterated and Repeated Revelations of this Truth, by New Editions of Revelations thereof, in his Written Word, to reinforce the ſame, that ſo it might be more Effectual, Operative, and Forcible upon Mankind, in order to the Right Ordering of his Life here, and the attaining of his Great and Everlaſting End.

And this he began to do in the *Old Teſtament*, under the Diſpenſation of the *Jewiſh* Oeconomy; but far more clearly, and Univerſally under the Evangelical Diſpenſation by *Chriſt Jeſus*, and with far greater advantage and Conviction of the Truth, and Certainty thereof.

The Evidence and Manifeſtation of the Truth and Certainty of this Suppoſition, is ſeen principally in theſe things.

1. That he that made this Diſcovery, was the beſt able to give us the true State of Mankind after Death: For, being the Son of God, a Teacher ſent from him, and acquainted with all his Will, none could give us a more perfect Account of what God Almighty intended or deſigned, touching the Children of Men. For it is moſt certain, that the whole ſtreſs of the buſineſs, touching the Future State of Mankind, muſt principally and primarily depend upon the moſt Wiſe, Juſt, yet free Diſpoſal and Counſel of Almighty God. He therefore, and he only, who was fully acquainted with the real purpoſe and deſign of Almighty God, touching Mankind, muſt needs be able to give us a full and compleat Account of this great and hidden Counſel, which could only lie in the Knowledge of God himſelf, or of ſuch one to whom he was pleaſed to reveal it: When the Rich Man was in Hell, he deſired that ſome Perſon might be ſent from the Dead, to acquaint his Brethren with the State of Men after Death; and he thought, that a Relation from ſuch a Perſon, who had ſeen or experimented that State, ſhould be the moſt credible and effectual means to gain aſſent from the Living. But had he underſtood, that the ſame God, who not only underſtood the State of Mankind after Death, by what he had ſeen touching them that were already Departed this Life; but alſo perfectly knew the Mind and Purpoſe of his Father touching Mankind, ſhould have come in the Fleſh, and manifeſt himſelf to be

be the Son of God; and that he came to acquaint Mankind with his Father's Counsel and Purpose touching the Future State of Mankind, he would have desired no other Messenger to acquaint his Brethren therewith.

2. *Christ* did not only declare, and profess himself to be the Son of God, a Teacher sent from God; nor did he only publish this Great Declaration and Discovery, touching the Future State of Mankind, and that he was sent into the World on purpose, to acquaint the World with this Message; but also he did, by the plainest and greatest Evidence imaginable, or that could possibly be desired to acquire credibility, manifestly declare, and prove, that his Mission and Message was Unquestionably True; Namely, by the great Miracles he did, by the Holiness of his Life, and by Dying to Attest and Assert it.

2. The Great and Admirable Work of his own Resurrection, did give an Invincible Evidence of the Truth as of all other his Doctrines, so especially of these, touching the Immortality of the Soul, the Resurrection, and the Future State after Death: And the Resurrection, of *Christ* hath a double Force, Evidence, or Conviction in this respect. *First*, This Resurrection of *Christ* was indeed the Greatest and Crowning Miracle of his whole Life; and as his other Miracles did Attest the Truth of his Mission and Doctrine, so this being the most Signal and Weighty of all, upon the Effecting, or not Effecting whereof, the whole Credit of his Mission and Doctrine depended: And also being of the highest nature of any of the rest

of

of his Miracles, did moſt Effectually, and Conſummately ſeal the Truth of his Miſſion, and the very Divineneſs and Credit of all his other Miracles: For he was declared the Son of God with Power, by the Reſurrection from the Dead. And hence it is that there is no one thing in the Goſpel hath more Evidence of Fact to prove the Truth and Reality, nor greater Weight laid upon it, than that *Chriſt* was really Dead, and did really Riſe again from the Dead. *Secondly*, But farther, The Reſurrection of *Chriſt* ſeems to be in a moſt Specifical and Appropriate manner applicable, and applyed to prove the Reſurrection of the Dead, and the Future Eſtate of Mankind after Death: It is the Great Stumbling-Block in the way of the Faith of Men, to think, how there ſhould be a Life after Death; The *Athenian* Philoſophers Mocked, when they heard of it, as a thing Incredible, *Acts* 17. 32. And if Men would be but Conquered from this Difficulty, the greateſt Difficulty were overcome. And indeed the Reſurrection of *Chriſt* ſeems to be the greateſt Pledge imaginable, not only of the poſſibility of a Future State after Death, but of the real Exiſtence of it. And therefore that Excellent Sermon of *Paul* to the *Athenians*, *Acts* 17. 31. lays the Great Weight of the Truth of the Judgment to come, and the Future State of Rewards and Puniſhments, upon this; *Becauſe he hath appointed a Day wherein he will Judge the World in Righteouſneſs, by that Man whom he hath Ordained, whereof he hath given aſſurance unto all Men in that he hath Raiſed him from the Dead:* As if he ſhould have ſaid, Ye *Athenian* Philoſophers, it is apparent that one of the Great Obſtacles of your Belief of the Judgment to come, and the Future

Future Eſtate of Good and Evil after Death, is that you doubt whether the Soul be capable of Fruition or Paſſion without the Body; and you cannot believe it poſſible, that there can be a Retreat from a full and compleat Separation of the Body to Life again; your *Philoſophical Principles* oppoſe it. Behold! I tell you, That God hath appointed to Judge the World by *Chriſt*, the ſame *Chriſt* hath ſaid ſo in that Goſpel which I come to publiſh to you: And, at once to Seal and Evidence the Truth he ſo declared; and to convince you of your vain Confidence, in your *Philoſophical* Perſwaſions, That ſame *Chriſt* was Dead, died a Violent Death; his Blood poured out upon the Ground, and lay in the Grave till the Third Day, that all the World might be aſcertained, that he was fully Dead, and that of ſuch a Death, that if any were uncapable of Reviving again he was: His Blood, the Vehicle of Life, ſpilt upon the Ground: Yet this *Chriſt* Lived again the Third Day, to aſſure the World of the Truth of his Word, that he would Judge the World; and of the poſſibility and truth of your Reſurrection and mine, by the Divine Power, 1 Cor. 15. 20. *He is Riſen from the Dead, and become the Firſt-fruits of them that ſleep.*

Acts

Acts II. 1, &c.

And when the Day of Pentecost was fully come, &c.

IN this Great and Miraculous Diffusion of the Holy Spirit upon the Apostles, These things are very observable;

I. The Time, when it happened.

II. The Place, where it happened.

III. The Persons to, and among whom it happened.

IV. The Kind and Manner of the Miracle it self.

I. Touching the Time or Season, wherein it happened, it was upon the Day of *Pentecost*, next ensuing the Passion, Resurrection, and Ascension of our Lord.

The People of *Israel* had several Solemn Feasts, Instituted by Almighty God: And many of them had a Three-fold Use, namely, 1. *Historical*, in Commemoration of some signal thing fit to be remembred. 2. *Religious*, or *Ceremonial*, for some Special Service to be performed unto Almighty God in those Times. 3. *Typical*, and in some kind

Pro-

Prophetical of ſome Eminent Obſervable Relating to the *Meſſias* that was to Come; and carrying ſome Eminent Prefiguration of ſome Eminent Occurrence that ſhould be found in, or concerning the Promiſed *Meſſias*. Thus the Great Wiſdom of Almighty God in theſe Inſtitutions, Involved and Complicated theſe ſeveral Uſes and Ends.

Among thoſe many Inſtituted Feaſts and Solemnities, there were Two of very great Remark; namely, the *Paſchal Feaſt*, and the Feaſt of *Pentecoſt*.

The Feaſt of *Paſcha* was Inſtituted upon their coming out of *Egypt*, Exod. 12. And again, Commanded, *Levit.* 23. and *Deut.* 16. upon the Tenth Day of the firſt Month *Abib* (anſwering neareſt to our Months of *March* and *April*) they were to chooſe a *Lamb*, and to kill him the 14th Day of that Month at Even: And to Eat him with Unleavened Bread that Night, *Exod.* 12. 3, 6. This was the beginning of the Feaſt of *Unleavened Bread*. But becauſe the Solemnity of Feſtivals and Sabbaths among the *Jews* began from the Evening of the Day preceding, and ended at the Evening of the Day following: Therefore the Evening of this Fourteenth Day was carried over to the Day following, and both are reckoned as the 15th Day, and the 15th Day is reckoned the Firſt Day of the Feaſt of *Unleavened Bread*, Levit. 23. 6. This Fifteenth Day was a Day of Great Solemnity, and ſo was the 7th Day following, for ſo long the Feaſt of *Unleavened Bread* laſted, *Exod.* 12. 16. The next Day after the firſt Day of the Feaſt, namely, the 16th Day of that Month, the Prieſt was to receive a Sheaf of the Firſt-fruits, and to *Wave it before the Lord*, Levit. 23. 11. For in thoſe Countreys

treys of *Paleſtine*, their Corn-harveſt began early namely, about their *Paſchal-Feaſt*, as appears, *Deut.* 16. 9. And it ſeems that the time when the Diſciples of *Chriſt* pulled the *Ears of Corn*, Luke 6. 1. was about the *Paſchal* Solemnity, namely, the Second Sabbath after the Firſt, which ſeems to be the Computation of the Sabbaths between *Paſcha* and *Pentecoſt*, or the Second *Paſchal Sabbath*.

The Feaſt of *Pentecoſt*, called, *The Feaſt of Weeks*, Deut. 16. This was Inſtituted, *Levit.* 23. 15. *And ye ſhall count unto you from the morrow after the Sabbath, from the Day that ye brought the Sheaf of the Wave Offering, Seven Sabbaths ſhall be Compleat, even unto the morrow after the Seventh Sabbath ſhall ye number Fifty Days*, &c.

This Feaſt of *Pentecoſt* it ſeems was always to be the Morrow after the Sabbath-day, or the Firſt-day of the Week: And although our Computation and the Computation of the *Jews*, in Relation to their *Paſchal* Solemnity, differed, yet it ſeems herein they both agree, that it was to be on the Firſt-day of the Week, only our Computation of Fifty Days includes our *Eaſter-Day*; their Computation of the Forty Days began from the *Paſcha* Excluſive of the Firſt-day of the Feaſt.

Though we have it not Expreſſed in the Scripture, yet it is generally received among the *Jews*, that the reaſon of the Inſtitution of this Feaſt, was, in remembrance of the giving of the Law upon Mount *Sinai*, which was, as they ſay, the Fiftieth day after the Firſt-day of the Firſt Paſſover, when the People departed out of *Egypt*. And beſides this Tradition, the Holy Text tells us, *Exod.* 19. 1. That they came to *Sinai* in the third Month: And *Exod.* 19. 11. The third day following the *Law*

was

was given: And if we ſhall reckon their Months like the Months of the *Egyptians*, viz. Thirty Days to a Month: Then reckoning 50 Days from the Fifteenth day of the Firſt Month Excluſively for the giving of the *Law*, it happened upon the Fifth day of the Third Month; but if we reckon them by *Lunar* Months, *viz.* One 29 Days, the other 30 Days; then it was the Seventh day of the Third Month: Either of which agrees thus far with the Holy Text, and alſo with the Tradition of the *Jews*, touching the reaſon of the Inſtitution of this Solemn Feaſt; That the *Law* was given upon *Kar*, near the Fiftieth day after their departure out of *Egypt*.

Touching the Congruity or Correſpondency between the Typical *Paſchal* and the True Paſſover, the Death of *Chriſt*, the ſame ſeems Plain: 1. *Chriſt* our Paſſover, a Lamb without Blemiſh, was ſlain: The Paſchal Lamb was an Emblem, and a Prefiguration of the Innocence and Purity of the *Meſſias*, *the Lamb of God that taketh away the Sin of the World.* 2. Not *a Bone* of the Paſchal Lamb was to be *broken*, Exod. 12. 46. fulfilled in our Saviour's Death, *John* 19. 36. Again, 3. The Blood of the Paſchal Lamb was to be *ſtroke upon the Door Poſts*, as a Propitiation againſt the Vengeance of the Deſtroying Angel, *Exod.* 12. 7. So the Blood of *Chriſt* was a Propitiation for the Sins of the World: He was *the Lamb of God, that taketh away the Sins of the World.* 4. But that which I ſpecially obſerve, is the ſeaſon, wherein *Chriſt* Suffered, being exactly that Day, in the Evening whereof the Paſchal Lamb was to be ſlain: Or the Fourteenth day of the Firſt Month: For it is plain, *Chriſt* kept the Paſſover, and Inſtituted his Supper the Night before his

his Crucifixion, *Matth.* 26. 17, 20. The ſame Night he was brought to the Counſel of the *Jews*, where the High Prieſt ſate as Chief; and there they Examined him, and paſſed Judgment of Death upon him, *Matth.* 26. 57, &c. The next Day they brought him to *Pilate*, who Condemned him to Death, at the Third Hour, or Nine of the Clock the ſame Day: This Day is called, *the Preparation of the Sabbath*, Matth. 27. 62. *The Preparation*; that is, the Day before the Sabbath, *Mark* 15. 42. *The Preparation and the Sabbath drew on*, Luke 23. 54. *The Preparation of the Paſſover*, John 19. 14. And therefore the High-Prieſt and Scribes entred not into the Judgment-Hall, leaſt they ſhould be defiled, but that they *might eat the Paſſover*, John 18. 28. And the *Jews*, *becauſe it was the Preparation, that the Bodies might not remain upon the Croſs upon the Sabbath-day (for that Day was a Great Day) beſought Pilate*, &c. It was a Great Day in it ſelf, for it was the Fifteenth Day of the Month, wherein was to be a Solemn Convocation by the Firſt Inſtitution, as *Exod.* 12. or, *the Firſt Day of the Feaſt of Unleavened Bread.* And it was a Great Day, becauſe the *Jewiſh* Sabbath, or the Seventh Day of the Week did follow with this Solemn Feaſt. After the Burial of our Saviour, the *Women brought Spices*, but reſted the Sabbath-day, *Luke.* 23. 56. But the *Scribes* and *Phariſees*, reſted not, for they reſorted to *Pilate*, to have the *Sepulchre Sealed*, viz. the Day that followed the Day of the Preparation, *Matth.* 27. 62. *The next Day after the Sabbath*, *early*, namely, *the Firſt Day of the Week, the Women reſorted to the Sepulchre with the Spices*, Matth. 28. 1. Mark 16. 1. John 20. 1.

This

This gives us an exact Journal of our Saviour's Death and Reſurrection: He was Crucified upon the Sixth Day, the Preparation of the Sabbath, and the Preparation of the Paſſover; he reſted in the Grave the Seventh day of the Week, and aroſe the Firſt day of the Week, becauſe the Third day from his Crucifixion.

So that *Chriſt* our Paſſover was ſlain that day wherein the Paſchal Lamb was killed, namely, the Fourteenth day of the firſt Month; for that was the regular time of killing the Paſſover: though in caſe of any Legal Impediment it might be Protracted, or deferred to the fourteenth day of the ſecond Month, *Numb.* 9. 11. 2 *Chron.* 13. 15.

And it ſeems the *Jewiſh* Computation of the Months being *Lunar*, their Computation of the fourteenth day of the firſt Month, was the fourteenth day after the firſt Full Moon that happened after the Vernal Equinox: And this Cuſtom was long kept among the *Chriſtians*, till by the Weſtern Church, under *Conſtantine*, it was reduced to be held upon the Lord's-day, according to a Cicle Eſtabliſhed and Obſerved in the Church; whereas the *Jewiſh Paſcha* fell ſometimes on one day of the Week, ſometimes on another, as their *Luna quarta decima* happened.

Now that which makes ſome difficulty, touching the day of the *Meſſiah*'s *Paſſion*, viz. Whether it were upon that day, in the Evening whereof the *Paſchal Lamb* was ſlain; or the fourteenth day of the firſt Month; or whether the next day after, namely, the fifteenth day, which was the Great Solemn Feaſt, or the firſt day of the Feaſt of Unleavened Bread, ſeems to be this, becauſe it is apparent by the *Evangeliſt*, that our Saviour did Eat

the Paſſover the Night before his Paſſion; and conſequently upon the Fourteenth day of the Firſt Month, according to the *Meſaical* Inſtitution, and conſequently the day of his Paſſion was upon the Firſt day of the Feaſt of Unleavened Bread; which, though it were the firſt day, yet it was antecedent to the *Jewiſh* Sabbath that followed the next day.

To this it is variouſly anſwered, *Firſt*, Some ſay, that although by the Divine Inſtitution, the Paſſover was to be eaten the Fourteenth day at Even, at which time our Lord did eat it with his Diſciples, according to the true Legal Inſtitution: Yet the *Jews* had a Tradition among them, that if the Fourteenth day of the Firſt Month happened upon the Firſt, Third, or Fifth day of the Week, the *Paſchal Lamb* was not to be that Night, but the Night following; and conſequently the Lamb was Slain the Fifteenth day, and the Solemn firſt day of the Feaſt of Unleavened Bread was to ſucceed upon the Sixteenth day; and accordingly it was done here; *Chriſt* and his Diſciples did Eat the Paſſover upon the Fourteenth day, according to the Divine Inſtitution, and the Generality of the *Jews* upon the Fifteenth day, according to their Tradition. *Secondly*, Again, others ſay, That upon Eminent occaſions it was Lawful to Anticipate a day in the Eating of the Paſſover; and that our Lord foreſeeing his time was drawing near, wherein he muſt ſuffer, intending to eat the Paſſover, and Inſtitute his Supper before he left the World, anticipated the Celebration of the Paſſover: But this ſeems hard, for it appears by the Three *Evangeliſts*, that the Diſciples took notice that the Solemn time was come, and ſpake firſt of it to our Lord, *Matth.* 26. 17. *Mark* 14. 12. Therefore,

Thirdly,

Thirdly, Some think that the Council of the *Jews* having a Resolution to destroy our Saviour, and yet before the Great Solemnity of the Feast, *Matth.* 26. 5. *Mark* 14. 2. did Procrastinate the Solemnity a day beyond the Set-time; which the Sanhedrim, or the Great Council of the *Jews*, pretended Power to do; being those that did Authoritatively decide the Time of the New Moon, and their Occasional Intercalation of days, to put off the Solemnity for a day or more, according to their Decisions. Whether these, or any of these be the True Cause, yet it is apparent, that the Eating of the Passover by *Christ* was upon the 5th day of the week, at Even, or upon the Thursday; and that the Eating of the Passover by the Generality of the People and Priests, was upon the 6th day of the week at Even, at which day *Christ* our Passover was slain.

But besides this Concordance in the Time of the death of *Christ* upon the *Paschal* Solemnity, there are some Observables touching this Great Feast that seems to bear some Prefiguration of our *Messiah*, and the End of his Suffering I do not remember above five Remembrances of the *Paschal* Solemnity under the Old Law, *viz.* 1. Upon the Deliverance out of *Egypt*, Exod. 12. agreeing with the Great Deliverance by *Christ*, from the Spiritual *Egypt*, the Bondage of Sin and Death. 2. Upon the coming of the People into *Canaan*, Josh. 5. 10. An Emblem of the Way opened into the Heavenly *Canaan* by the Suffering of *Christ*. 3. That under *Josiah*, upon a Great Reformation of Idolatry by him, 2 *Kings* 13. 21. And, 4. That after the Re-edification of the Temple, and Restitution of the People from Captivity, *Ezra* 6. 21. who was

a Great Repairer of the *Jewiſh* Church. 5. That under *Hezekiah*, 2 Chron. 30 which, though it were not obſerved at the Regular Time, but in the fourteenth day of the ſecond Month, yet it was upon a Great Reformation of the Church, aed a Renovation of their Covenant with God. 6. There ſeems alſo to be a Remembrance of a Great Paſſover kept by *Solomon*, 2 *Chron.* 30. 27. which probably was after his finiſhing of the Temple. And as all theſe Perſons, *Moſes*, *Joſhua*, *Solomon*, *Hezekiah*, *Joſiah*, and *Ezra*, were, in many things, Types of the *Meſſiah*, ſo the Buſineſs, or Occaſions that gave theſe Signal Solemnities, were ſuch as bore a great Analogy to that Work that our Saviour in his Paſſion mightily performed, namely, the Deliverance of his People from the Slavery of Sin, and Death and Hell, the opening of the Kingdom of Heaven to all Believers: the Reformation of the Errors and Lives of Mankind, the Solemnization of a New Covenant between God and Man, and the Erection and Eſtabliſhing of a Living Temple unto God, namely, his Church, *againſt which the gates of Hell ſhould not prevail.* And although I doubt not there were often Anniverſary *Paſchal Feaſts*, between the coming out of *Egypt*, and the Return from the Captivity: Yet the Spirit of God taking a more particular notice of theſe Great and Solemn Paſſovers, ſeems to give us occaſion to obſerve them, with Relation to *Chriſt* our Great Paſſover.

The things remarkable in the Analogy of the *Feaſt* of *Penteco ſt*, ſeem to be theſe:

Firſt, That as there were 51 days from the firſt *Paſcha*, and the Giving of the *Law* (in Memory whereof

whereof the Feaſt of *Pentecoſt* was Inſtituted) ſo there were the like meaſure of time between the Oblation of *Chriſt*, the True *Paſchal Lamb*, and the Signal Miſſion of the Holy Ghoſt, in the Feaſt of *Pentecoſt*.

Secondly, That upon that time, wherein it pleaſed God to Promulge the *Law*, the Tenor of the Old Covenant with the People of *Iſrael*, he alſo choſe to Publiſh the New Covenant in the Blood of *Chriſt* to all Mankind.

Thirdly, That as the Promulgation of the *Law* was eſpecially with Two Senſible Manifeſtations, namely, the great Sound of the Trumpet, that *waxed louder and louder*, Exod. 19. 16. And the Audible giving of the *Law* by the Voice of God. *Exod.* 20. And the Voice of Thunder, all which affected the Senſe of Hearing. And alſo the Appearance of Fire and Smoke, the Mountain burning with Fire to the midſt of Heaven, which affected the Senſe of Seeing: Both which great Impreſſions upon thoſe two Senſes of Diſcipline, are briefly deſcribed by the Apoſtle, *Heb.* 12. 18, 19. So this Promulgation of the *Goſpel* was made upon this day, though not with equal Terror, yet, in an *Analogy* of External Signs: 1. To the Eye, the Holy Ghoſt deſcending upon the Apoſtles in Cloven Tongues like fire; 2. To the Senſe of Hearing, namely, the ruſhing mighty wind, anſwering to the Thunder and Voice of the Trumpet in the giving of the Law; and the ſpeaking with Tongues, not only Audible, but Intelligible, to People of ſeveral Nations and Languages.

Fourthly, That as the *Law* was Publiſhed to the Full Aſſembly of the People of *Iſrael*, ſo the *Goſpel* was Publiſhed to a Full Aſſembly of Perſons of almoſt all Nations, *Acts* 2. For *Jeruſalem*, as it was a Great City, that received many Foreigners, ſo eſpecially at this Solemn Feaſt, many *Jews* and Proſelytes reſorted hither from all Countries of their Diſperſion.

Fifthly, That as the *Law* was Publiſhed in the *Mount* of God, *Sinai in the Wilderneſs*; ſo this Solemn Promulgation of the Goſpel was made in the City of *Jeruſalem*, ordinarily Styled, *The City of God, and Mount Sion*: Thus as the Promulgation of the Law begun in *Mount Sinai*, ſo the Promulgation of the Goſpel began in *Mount Sion*, and from thence derived through all the World.

Beſides what hath been obſerved, there ſeems alſo a ſtrange Suitableneſs and Congruity in proportion of Times and Occaſions. I ſhall reckon up ſome of the former, and ſome others.

1. The Oblation of the *Meſſiah* upon the day that the *Paſchal Lamb* was to be ſlain.

2. His Reſt in the Grave upon that double Sabbath, as I may call it, for the Firſt day of the Feaſt of Unleavened Bread, wherein no Work was to be done, fell upon the Seventh, or Sabbath-day of the Week.

3. His Reſurrection was upon the Firſt day of the Week, the day of the Creation of all things, and

and the day appointed by the *Law* for the Oblation of the *Sheaf of Firſt-fruits*, prefiguring the Reſurrection of *Chriſt*, who is therefore called the *Firſt-fruits of them that Sleep*, 1 Cor. 15. 20. Compared with *Levit.* 23. 10. So that although the *Paſchal* Feaſt was not limitted to any certain day of the week, yet the Co-incidence thereof to the Seventh day of the week, made an admirable Harmony in the Incidence of Times: For,

4. The Wiſe God chooſing this Seaſon for the Suffering of the *Meſſiah*, gave our Saviour's Reſurrection to be the Firſt day of the week, which we Commemorate in the place of the *Jewiſh* Sabbath; and gave the Feaſt of *Pentecoſt* to be likewiſe the Firſt day of the week, whereby there happened a Co-incidence of Two Great Matters, namely, the day of the Reſurrection, and the day of the Miſſion of the Holy Spirit, which gave the occaſion to the Chriſtian Church to keep the Feaſt of *Pentecoſt* upon the Lord's day, namely, the 50th day after the *Paſcha Chriſtianum:* So the Co-incidence and Communication of both theſe days gave Teſtimony and Atteſtation each to other; whereas if the *Jewiſh Paſcha* had not happened upon the *Jewiſh* Sabbath, the next *Pentecoſt* could not have happened upon the *Chriſtian* Sabbath.

And when the Day of Pentecoſt was fully come, they were all with one Accord in one place,&c.

I Will conſider, upon this occaſion, theſe things: 1. The Reaſon of the Day of *Pentecoſt*, and the Reaſon of that Inſtitution: 2. The Reaſon why this Great Diſpenſation was at this time, and the Analogy it bears with the Inſtitution. 3. The Parts of this Miraculous Diſpenſation. 4. The End and Uſe of it, and the Inſtruction ariſing from it.

For the *Firſt* of theſe: We read, *Exod.* 12. 2, 6. of the Inſtitution of the Paſſover (the Greateſt *Jewiſh* Feaſt and Solemnity) and the time of its Celebration, and the Reaſon of it. 1. There is the Inſtitution, or Change of the Month: *This Month*, viz. *Abib, ſhall be unto you the beginning of Months, the Firſt Month of the Year.* 2. There is the Deſignation of that Portion of this Month, for the Celebration of the Paſſover, in the Tenth day of this Month, every Houſholder was to ſeparate the *Paſchal Lamb*; and in the 14th day thereof they were to kill and eat it, at the Evening of that day, *Exod.* 12. 3, 6. Again, 3 There is ſet down the Solemnity that was to be uſed touching it; wherein, among divers others, there were theſe; it was

to

to be a Lamb without Blemiſh; it was *to be Roaſted whole, not a Bone thereof to be Broken*; it was *to be eaten with Unleavened Bread, and Bitter Herbs, and in Haſte, and nothing thereof to be left till the morning.* 4. There is the Reaſon of the Inſtitution, *viz.* to be a Perpetual Memorial of the Goodneſs and Mercy of God unto that People, *Firſt*, In ſparing and paſſing over their Families, when the Deſtroying Angel ſlew all the *Firſt-born of the Egyptians. Secondly*, in bringing them out of that State of Captivity and Bondage, into a State of Liberty and Freedom, *Exod.* 12. 26, 51.

At the Seaſon wherein this Feaſt was to be Celebrated, they were to preſent unto Almighty God *a Sheaf of their Firſt-fruits of their Harveſt*, as a Recognition and Tribute unto God, *Levit.* 23. 10. for according to the Temperament of that Climate their Fruits were early, ſo that there might be that Preſent brought. This was to be done on the Morrow after the Sabbath, *Levit.* 23. 11. which ſeems to be the Morrow after their *Paſchal Sabbath*: From this day they were to account 50 days unto the Morrow of the Seventh Sabbath, *Levit.* 23. 16. and this was the Feaſt of *Pentecoſt*: which Feaſt was, according to the Tradition of the *Jews*, Inſtituted in Memory of the giving of the *Law* upon *Mount Sinai*. And though this Reaſon be not expreſſed thereof in the Holy Scripture, yet the diſtance from the time of their paſſing out of *Egypt*, unto the time of the giving of the *Law* upon *Sinai*, ſeems to anſwer the diſtance between the *Paſchal Solemnity*, and that of *Pentecoſt*: for they came out of *Egypt* the 14th day of the firſt Month, the day of their *Paſchal Celebration*, Exod 12. 42, 51. They came to the Wilderneſs of *Sinai* in the Third Month,

Month, *Exod* 19. 1. the ſame day they came into the Wilderneſs of *Sinai:* upon the Third day following was the Law given upon *Sinai*, in that Miraculous and Terrible manner, *Exod* 19. 11. It is not expreſſed indeed what day of that Third Month it was that the People came to *Sinai*, or that the *Law* was given: If we ſhall reckon the *Jewiſh* Months to be *Lunar*, conſiſting of 29 days and a half to a Month, or which amounts to the ſame account, one Month to be *Plena*, or Full, conſiſting of Thirty days; the other to be *Cava*, conſiſting of 29 days; two Months made up 59 days, to which, if we ſhould add Three days more of the Third Month, the Account will be 62 days, out of which, if we ſubduct 14 days, there will remain 48; whereunto if we add the 14th day it ſelf, and the next day after, from which the Accompt muſt be made, unto the morrow after the Seventh Sabbath, there will remain 50 days; ſo that upon this Account, they came into *Sinai* upon the Firſt Day of the Third Month and the Law was given upon the Third day of the ſame month; So that this Feaſt of *Pentecoſt*, commonly in the Old Law called *The Feaſt of Weeks*, was Inſtituted as a Solemn Memorial of that Great and Miraculous Giving of the *Law* by Almighty God upon *Mount Sinai*, the One and fiftieth day after the coming out of *Egypt*, and of the firſt *Paſchal* Celebration.

But the Truth is, the Computation of the Fifty days, was not from the morrow of the Firſt day of the *Paſchal Feaſt*, but from the morrow of that Sabbath, that happen'd firſt in the *Paſchal Feaſt*: For the *Jews* did not obſerve their *Paſchal* Solemnity as we *Chriſtians* do, upon the Firſt Sabbath that happened after the 14th day Incluſively after the New Moon;

Moon; but upon the 14th day it ſelf, upon whatſoever day of the week it happened: For Inſtance, if the 14th day happened upon the Wedneſday, they kept then their Paſſover, and the firſt Sabbath, or Saturday then fell within Eight days of their *Paſchal* Solemnity; and the preſenting of the *Sheaf* was the next day after that firſt Sabbath, being always the Firſt day of the week; and from that Firſt day of the week incluſively was the Account of the Fifty days for the Celebration of the Feaſt of Weeks, or *Pentecoſt*, which therefore always happened upon the Firſt day of the week; for from the morrow of the Firſt day, next after the Firſt Sabbath, in the *Paſchal* Solemnity, unto the morrow after the Seventh Sabbath, reckoning both Terms incluſively, was their *Pentecoſt* always obſerved, which made up their full Fifty days: and therefore though their coming to *Sinai* was in the beginning of the Third month, yet it is not poſſible to determine in what Preciſe day of that month they came to *Sinai*, becauſe we know not preciſely what day of the week their Firſt *Paſchal*, or the 14th day of the Firſt month fell; only it ſeems evident, that the Feaſt of Weeks, or *Pentecoſt*, which began the Fiftieth day after the Firſt Sabbath, in the *Paſchal* Solemnity, was in memory of the Law given upon *Sinai*, and that it was given the Firſt day of the Week, on the Fiftieth day after the Firſt Sabbath, in the *Paſchal* Feaſt.

2. As to the Second matter, why this Great Diſpenſation, *viz.* The Viſible and Audible Manifeſtation upon the Apoſtolical Company, was poured out upon this day; the Reaſon ſeems to be this; The greateſt part of the *Jewiſh* Solemnities were intended

tended as Typical to the *Meſſiah*, that when he ſhould come into the World, theſe, as well as the Ancient Prophecies, ſhould bear Witneſs to him. And this is very eminently made good in theſe Two Great Solemnities, the *Paſcha* and the *Pentecoſt*. The *Meſſiah* was the true *Paſchal Lamb*, Prefigured in that of the *Law*; he was to be ſlain, yet not a Bone of him to be broken: He was to bring Life, and Immortality to Light, by the Goſpel, and to deliver the Elect of God out of that Spiritual *Egypt*, the Bondage of Sin, and Death, and Hell, into the Liberty of the Sons of God: and as all the Solemnities in the *Paſchal* Sacrifice were fulfilled in the True *Paſchal Lamb*, *Chriſt Jeſus*; So he took that very Preciſe Time to be Offered up; wherein, according to the *Jewiſh* Law, the *Paſchal Lamb* was to be ſlain, and that Solemnity Celebrated.

Our Lord Roſe again from Death the firſt day of the Week; he Converſed upon the Earth about 40 days, and then he was viſibly taken into Heaven: by his Life, his Death, his Miracles, his Reſurrection, his Aſcenſion, he was effectually declared to be the True *Meſſias*, the Great Law-giver of the World, the Light, and Hope, and Salvation of the whole World, both *Jews* and *Gentiles*. And as Almighty God, by the Hands of *Moſes*, and by the Service of Angels, gave his *Law* to the People of *Iſrael*; ſo the ſame God having appointed his Son to be Heir of all things, the Head, the Law-giver, and Governour of his Family on Earth: This Great Law-giver gave his *Law*, not only to the *Jews*, but to all Mankind: And for the more Solemn Publication of this *Law*, and to bear Witneſs to the Authority of it, he chooſeth to uſe ſuch Circumſtances, as though they were not in all particulars

the

the ſame with thoſe of the Giving of the *Law* upon *Mount Sinai*, eſpecially in the Terror of it, yet they did bear a great Analogy with them:

Firſt, In *Sinai*, there was the Miraculous Voice of an Angel, in the Articular delivery of the *Moral Law*: Here was a Miraculous delivery of the Wonderful Works of God in the ſeveral Languages of the World.

Secondly, In *Sinai* there was an Appearance of Fire, flaming up to the midſt of Heaven: Here was the appearance of Fire ſitting upon every Apoſtle in the Figure of Cloven Tongues.

Thirdly, There was the Voice of a Trumpet, that waxed lowder and lowder: Here a Voice from Heaven as of a ruſhing mighty Wind, that filled the Houſe wherein they were.

Fourthly, As Almighty God choſe the Fiftieth day after the *Paſchal Sabbath*, for the Promulgation of the *Law*, which had therefore this Solemnity of *Pentecoſt* Inſtituted in Memory thereof: So our Lord chooſeth that very Feaſt and Day, fifty days after his own *Paſchal* Oblation, to Promulge to all Mankind his *Evangelical Law* in this miraculous manner.

Indeed there are two Circumſtances that difference the one from the other. 1. The Promulgation of the *Law* was not only Miraculous, but Terrible, as the Hiſtory of it evidenceth. But this Promulgation, although Miraculous, yet it was gentle and ſweet, bearing a Proportion and Analogy

logy to the Nature of the Law-giver, who was Meek and Gentle, not willing to break a Bruiſed Reed: and bearing alſo an Analogy to the Nature of the Meſſage and *Law* that was to be Promulged; a Meſſage of Peace, and Mercy, and Reconciliation; an Eaſie Yoak, and a Law of Love, and therefore not ſo fit to be Publiſhed with Thunder, as with a ſoft ſtill Voice. 2. The Promulgation of that Law, though Secondarily and Conſequentially it was to all Mankind; yet Principally and Immediately it concerned the *Jews*, and was certainly Publiſhed at firſt in that Language only. But this Law was in its very firſt Deſign an Inſtitution Univerſal, to all Mankind, as well *Gentiles* as *Jews*; and therefore it is Promulged in all Languages, and in a Voice Intelligible to all Hearers; and the Divine Providence ſo ordered it, that it ſhould have Hearers of all Nations and Languages, whereby not only the Miracle it ſelf, but alſo the Matters deliver'd, were Communicated almoſt in a Moment, to all Quarters of the World, by the Auditors of ſeveral Nations and Languages that were preſent, and heard it, though not without deſerved Amaſement.

3. The Third thing propounded is the Conſideration of the ſeveral parts, or Manifeſtations of this Great Miracle. The Power of the Divine Spirit manifeſted it ſelf under Two Kinds of Manifeſtations; one Kind was viſible, which was objected to the Senſe of Sight; There appeared unto them Cloven Tongues, like as of fire, and ſate upon each of them: The other Kind of Manifeſtation was Audible, manifeſted to the Senſe of Hearing;

First, A Sound from Heaven, as of a Ruſhing mighty Wind.

Secondly, A ſpeech with other Tongues.

Touching the former of theſe, the Viſible Signs, they were theſe;

First, The Figure of the Appearance, they were in the Figure of Cloven Tongues, Importing the Buſineſs or End of this Manifeſtation, an Emblem of thoſe Excellent and Miraculous Operations, that, together with this Appearance, and Conformable to it, were derived from the Spirit unto them, namely, Divine Inſpiration, and Variety of Languages. Under the *Old Teſtament* the Spirit of God cured the Infirmities of the Prophet, by touching his Tongue or Mouth, *Iſai.* 6. 7, 8. Under the *New Teſtament* there are, as it were, New Tongues given them, fitting them for their Offices.

Secondly, The Seeming Matter of them, they were like as of Fire, the moſt Cleanſing and Active Element anſwering the Prediction of the Baptiſt, *Matth.* 3. 11. *He ſhall Baptize you with the Holy Ghoſt, and with Fire.* And, of the Prophets, *Mal.* 3. 2, 3. *He is like a Refiner's Fire. And he ſhall purifie the Sons of Levi, that they may offer unto the Lord an Offering in Righteouſneſs.* He ſent this Fiery Appearance upon the Apoſtles, to Actuate and Purifie, not to Conſume them.

Thirdly,

Thirdly, The Posture of this Appearance, it sate upon each of them, and thereby gave a more forcible and sensible Demonstration, that these Miraculous Varieties of Tongues they used, was, in truth, a Supernatural Effect of a Supernatural Cause, manifesting it self in the Visible Emblem of Cloven Tongues.

Touching the Audible Signs, they were Two.

First, The Sound from Heaven, as of a rushing mighty Wind. The Divine Spirit chooseth many times to resemble the Efficacy, and yet Secretness of his Operations, by the Resemblance of Wind, *John* 3. 8. *The Wind bloweth where it listeth, and thou hearest the sound thereof, but canst not tell whence it cometh, and whither it goeth; So is every one that is born of the Spirit.* And in that Typical Resurrection of the dry Bones, *Ezek.* 28. 37. The Energy of the Spirit of God giving Life to those Bones, is resembled under the Expression of Wind: The Spirit of God chooseth this audible Emblem, to manifest his Presence and Energy.

The *Second* is that of speaking with divers Tongues, Intelligible by People of various Languages; this continued a peculiar Gift of the Spirit of God long in the Church, 1 *Cor.* 14. As this was a Great, a Miraculous Endowment, that Illiterate Men should, in a moment, receive a Faculty of speaking the Languages of several Nations; so it was seasonable, in the first Age of the Church, for the Planting and diffusing of the Truths of the Gospel

ſpel, through the ſeveral parts of the World: And at this time they were fitted with Auditors proportionate to this Gift; namely, People of ſeveral Countreys and Languages, as well Strangers as Inhabitants, who were preſent, and took notice of it, and could not but publiſh it to their ſeveral Countreys and Correſpondents.

Fourthly, The Fourth thing propounded is the end of this Admirable Miracle: The Spirit of God is the Spirit of Wiſdom, and doth not things at random, or only for ſhew and novelty, but for moſt Wiſe and Excellent ends. The General end was this:

Chriſt, the Promiſed Meſſiah, of whom the former Prophecies in the *Old Teſtament* ſpake, to whom the Types and Ceremonies of the Law pointed, was by the Eternal Counſel of God appointed the Meſſias, and to bring to the World a New and Perfect Law, Everlaſting Righteouſneſs and the Means of attaining Everlaſting Life and Happineſs. This Doctrine he Publiſhed in his Life-time, Confirmed it with Miracles, Sealed it with his Death, and put beyond doubt and controverſie by his Reſurrection and Aſcenſion.

And becauſe his Death was Confeſſed by all; but his Reſurrection and Aſcenſion was by the Malice of the *Jews* as much diſcredited as lay in their Power: And becauſe if once the Truth of the Reſurrection of *Chriſt* were admitted, it gave ſuch a Teſtimony to the Truth of his Miſſion, and of his Doctrine, that exceeded all poſſible contradiction or diſpute: And becauſe the Doctrine of Chriſtianity that was now offer'd to the World, muſt neceſſarily, if entertained, overthrow all the Errors

and Superstitions of other Religions, and consequently meet with as many Enemies in the World as there were earnest Professors of other Religions. And because the great business of the Apostles of *Christ* was in a special manner to bear witness to the Truth of his Resurrection, *Acts* 1. 22. and they were to be the Common Publishers unto the World of these Great Truths. And because the same *Christ*, whose Apostles they were for the Vindication of that Truth that was delivered by himself, and was after to be published by them, had before his Ascension, promised them a signal Testimony and Manifestation of the Spirit of God, that should bear Witness to the Truth of *Christ* and his Doctrine, *Luke* 24. 49. *John* 15. 16. *Acts* 1. 4. 8. Therefore upon these, and such as these Important Considerations, the Blessed Spirit of God bears Witness to the Truth of the Testimony, Doctrine, and Mission of the Apostles, in their very first entry upon this Great Work of Converting the World with such Marvellous Signs and Appearances as these, such as were obvious to all the Senses of Discipline, to be true and real; and yet such as were of such a Nature and Kind, as could be no other but Supernatural and Miraculous. And hereby the Divine Power of Almighty God himself, did set to his own Seal, and Testimonial to the Truth of the Doctrine and Mission of *Christ* and his Apostles, with the greatest Evidence that it is possible for Reason or Sence it self to expect, or have to the Asserting of any Truth.

And the great Inforcement of this Evidence rests not so much, that these strange and Miraculous things were done in gross, or for themselves; but in that they were done in order, and upon design to

Justifie

Justifie and Evidence the Truth of Fact and Doctrines that were delivered by *Christ* and his Apostles, which, had they not been true, we cannot imagine that the Glorious God of Heaven would send out his own Power, and set to his own Seal to Justifie and Assert them: And yet besides all this, they are set to the Justification and making good of those Truths which were not without a strange Evidence of Credibility otherwise, as namely the Excellency of the Doctrine, Concurrence of Prophecy, and the Concurring Testimony of many Credible Persons that were Eye-Witnesses of the Resurrection of *Christ*, which alone, if admitted and believed, gives a Testimony of the Truth of his Doctrine and Mission beyond all contradiction.

And this great Testimony given by the Spirit of God, in this Great, Evident, and Sensible Demonstration, is given out in the first beginning of the Apostolical Ministery, and that in a Signal and Publick manner, that it might gain a Present, and Powerful, and Successful Progress in the World. And it was not disappointed in the event it designed, as the Testimony of the Primitive, and all ensuing Ages abundantly prove; So mightily grew the Word of God and prevailed.

That which we may learn from this, and other Instances of the like Kind, is first to settle and establish our hearts in the True Faith of our Lord *Jesus Christ*, and his Holy Doctrine, since we have all the Evidences imaginable to Justifie our Faith our Reason, our Sence, to believe it; and have all those Demonstrations that any Man of common Reason can expect to satisfie us thereof. *Secondly*, To render all humble Thanks to the Goodness and Bounty of Almighty God, who thus deals with

us Humane Creatures, condescends unto our Natures and Capacities, complies with our Common Sense and Reason, giving us Evidences of all sorts to Convince and Perswade us to the Entertainment and Belief of those things that are our Happiness and Felicity to Believe; and omits not any Topick that may assure us: Applies to every Avenue of our Souls and Hearts for the Admission and Reception of those Truths, in the Belief whereof consists our Everlasting Blessedness.

Concerning

Concerning The WORKS OF GOD.

HAVING Consider'd the Divine Attributes, We come to Consider the Works of God or those Acts of Almighty God, which are Terminated in something without Himself. And these are of Two Kinds.

First, The Internal, or Immanent Works of God, which, though they are within Himself, yet I call them Works, because they are Terminated in something without Him. And those are of Two Kinds, *viz.* His knowledge, or Fore-knowledge, which relates to God, as we represent him to our selves, under the Notion of an Intellectual Being; And the Counsel or Determination of his Will, as we Represent him to our selves, as a Free Agent, or one who works *Secundum Intentionem.*

Secondly, The External, or Transient Works of Almighty God; and these are of Two Kinds, *viz.* The Work of *Creation*, and the Work of *Providence*, or *Gubernation*.

The Work of *Creation* is again of Two Kinds, *viz.* *Creatio Prima*, the Production of Something out of Nothing, or Simple Creation: And *Creatio Secunda*, the Production of Something out of what pre-existed; but yet such a production as exceeded the Activity or Power of any Natural Cause, as the Production of the Heavenly and Elementary Bodies, the first Production of Manners.

The Work of his Providence is of Two Kinds, *viz.*

First, That General Providence that concerns the Universe, and the particular Beings therein, as they are parts of the Universe; and this includes those Two great Exertions of the Divine Providence, *viz.*

1. The Common Influx, whereby every thing is preserved in *genere Entis*; and in the particular Nature of *ens tale*.

2. the Gubernation, or Regiment of every thing.

The Special Work of Divine Providence is that, which relates to intellectual Natures, *viz.* Angels or Men.

And

And that part of the Divine Special Providence relating to Men, is of Two Kinds, *viz.* That which relates to him, in reference to his Temporal Subsistence, Civil or Political: Or that part of the Divine Special Providence that concerns Man, in reference to his Everlasting State or Condition, which lets in the whole Divine Oeconomy, in relation to Religion and Religious concernments.

To begin with the *First* of these kind of Works, The Divine Knowledge, and Fore-knowledge of things.

We must premise, as we have done formerly, That we are not able to have a right and due conception neither of the Knowledge, nor of the Counsel of Almighty God; only thus much we are certain, that it is quite another thing than any thing we can imagine concerning it; and the reason is, because we have no other measure to frame in our selves a conception of Knowledge, but only the Idea or Image of that Knowledge which we have in our selves which is utterly unsuitable and disanalogal to that Knowledge which is in God, or the Manner, or Nature of it. It is much more possible, that a Child of a Span Long; nay, that a Worm, or a Fly, might have a Just and adequate Conception of the Knowledge of the Wisest Man in the World, and the Manner of it, than it is possible for the Wisest and most Knowing Man to have a right Measure or Estimate of the Knowledge of God, or of the Manner or Nature of it. And the Reason is apparent; for the Knowledge of a Child and a Man differ only in degrees; the Knowledge of a Worm and a Man, though they

differ not only in degrees, but in Kind and Nature and therefore cannot form to it self the Conception or Image of the Knowledge of a Man for it: But yet they agree in this, that even the Knowledge of a Man is *quid finitum:* But the Knowledge that a Man hath, and the Knowledge that God hath, differed not only in degree, and in their Kind and Nature, but differ as *quod finitum* and *quod infinitum*; and consequently impossible that the finite nature of the Knowledge of Man can be any Measure or Image of the Infinite Knowledge of Almighty God.

This therefore we may suppose concerning the Knowledge of God, indeed rather what it is not, than what it is.

First, It is not barely an Objective Knowledge, or such a Knowledge as ariseth from the Impression, that the *Scibile*, or thing known, makes upon the Intellect. And this is evident, because that this Divine Knowledge pre-exists all things that are without him to be known; he knows all things before they had any being, and therefore before they had an Objective Impression upon that which knows

Secondly, It is not a Discursive, or Rational Knowledge, for that seems proper to the Humane Nature, deducing of one thing from another, and collecting the Effect from the Cause; for this is a Gradual Successive Knowledge, a manner of Acting incompatible to a most simple and uncompounded Being.

Thirdly, It is not properly an Intuitive Knowledge; for all Intuition presupposeth somewhat pre-existing to what is so looked into: This supposition

position (in reference to the Knowledge of Almighty God) must either suppose an Intuition of the things themselves, which is in truth, nothing but an Objective Knowledge. But this serves not here, for the Knowledge of Almighty God Pre-exists the very being of all things without him, and therefore it cannot be barely such an Intuitive Knowledge; Or else it must suppose a Pre-determination of every thing that shall be in the Divine Will; and so by the Intuition of himself, and of his own most Wise and Powerful Determination he Inspects whatsoever shall be. This, though it be true, yet it takes not up the whole Extension of the Divine Knowledge. For, Almighty God doth most certainly know some things that are not Actually within the Compass of an Absolute and Complete Determination. He knows not only what shall be, but what may be; not only what is within the Compass of his purpose and Determination, but what is within the Compass of his Almighty Power and Omnipotence; And not only that neither, there is a Knowledge which some do, and we may call *Scientia Conditionata*, a Knowledge what a Free Agent would do under such or such an Objective Motion, though he were not Pre determined by the Divine Will.

And to put a Period to our Progression, even Negative, in this Inquiry into the Divine Knowledge, his Understanding is Perfect, Unsearchable, and which is more than all we can else say, his Understanding is Infinite, exceeding the very Compass of *Scibilia* themselves, so far as they have, or indeed can have, any Actual Existence; for that which is Potentially Infinite, is nevertheless impossible to be Actually Infinite: But the Divine Knowledge

ledge is actually Infinite, for it understands its own Infinite Being, which were enough to denominate it such, were there no other *scibile*, and in the Understanding of its own Infinite Being, it Understands its Infinite Power, and is, as I may say, Commensurate to the uttermost Activity of that Infinite Power: And although, what may be, is but *quid potentiale*, for it is not, and possibly never shall be; yet he actually understands whatsoever may be, or that hath *potentiam non repugnantiæ* to be, though it never shall be Actually.

Secondly, Touching the Counsel of the Divine Will, it is a depth and height above all Created Understanding to search into. All Things are brought about by the most Powerful Counsel of his Will; and yet he altereth not that Law or Rule of Working which he hath Implanted into every thing, unless it be very rarely, and for the Manifestation of the Supremacy of his Empire and Power; So that ordinarily, things Naturally Act according to the Laws and Rules implanted in Natural Causes, and Things voluntary Act according to the Liberty of their own freedom, without alteration of the former, or violence to the latter; yet by these, and in these, he fulfils infallibly the Counsel of his own Will: He manageth and ordereth even the Sinful Actions of Free Agents to most excellent ends yet without infusing any obliquity into the Man's Will, or contaminating the Purity and Holiness of his own: This Knowledge is too Wonderful for us.

Touching the Counsel and Decree of Almighty God, something hath been said in the Part going

ing before, touching Providence; I ſhall therefore here ſay but little concerning it.

The Counſel, or Decree of the Will of God, is that Act, as I may call it of the Divine Will, whereby, by one Indiviſible Act, he did, from Eternity, Infallibly Predetermine all the Events that ſhould after come to paſs.

And according to the Object, or Terming of this Divine Decree, we may diſtinguiſh it according to the ſeveral ſorts of External Acts, which have been, or ſhall be in the World, and thoſe are principally Two, *viz.* The Creation of the World, and the Government or Providential Ordering of the World.

The Decree or Counſel for the Creation of the World, was that Eternal Purpoſe of the Bleſſed Trinity God Bleſſed for ever, that in ſuch a Period, he would, by his Almighty Power, Create and Perfect both the Matter and Frame of the whole World: And although the Execution of this Decree were a Mutation in Things, or a Tranſition from not being to being, yet the Will of Almighty God was Eternally, Immutably the ſame whereby he determined to Communicate the Overflowing of his Goodneſs, and to Create Beings, that according to their ſeveral Capacities, ſhould be Receptive of that Goodneſs of his.

The Decree of his Providence is that Eternal Counſel of his, whereby he did determine to ſupport and govern the things that he had ſo determined to make, according to the moſt Wiſe, moſt Pure Unerring Counſel of his own Will.

And the Execution of this Counſel or the manner of the Divine Regiment, or Providential Gubernation

bernation of things, may be reduced to these Four Kinds.

1. Supernatural, whereby the Divine Power, for the manifesting of his Absolute Soveraignty, and upon most Wise and Suitable Emergencies, doth interpose his own Immediate Power for the bringing about some of his Counsels; and these are of Two Kinds, according to the variety of Objects which it concerns, *viz.*

First, Miraculous Interpositions, which principally concern Natural Agents, or Effects; as the standing still of the Sun, *&c.*

Secondly, Illapses, and Irradiations, and Infusions of the Operations of the Divine Spirit, as in the Prophets, or in Converting of Men to the Knowledge and Obedience of the Truth, and this concerns Rational Creatures as such.

2. Natural; whereby he orders all things ordinarily in the World, according to the Laws and Constitutions that he hath given naturally to Second Causes, whereby, according to their suitable Constitution, the Regiment of things is Managed, but under the most Wise Government, and to most Wise Ends. And under this Word, Natural, I likewise include even Voluntary or Free Agents, which, though in some respect, they are Contradistinguished to Natural Agents, yet, in this respect, I call them Natural, because their Liberty and Freedom is Natural to them: And surely upon a due Consideration, the most Incomparable Wisdom and Power of Almighty God is no less Conspicuous in this

this Natural Regiment of things, than in that Supernatural Interpoſition above mentioned, *viz.* That the Divine Wiſdom hath ſo fitted every thing with a Law ſuitable to the Exigence and Convenience of its own Being; and yet ſo ordered and fitted for Contexture to the common Uſe and Regiment of things, that they are Suitable, and Natural to our Conſtitutions, without violation of them.

3. Permiſſive, Which refers to the ſinful Actions of Free Agents, *viz.* Whereby God Almighty having at firſt Conſtituted a Being in Freedom of Will, and with ſufficient Power and Knowledge to elect Good, and to refuſe the Evil; ye Decrees to permit him to uſe the Freedom of his own Will, and in that Freedom he Falls and Sins: This Permiſſive Decree doth not at all neceſſitate the Choice that it makes through the Infiniteneſs of the Divine Knowledge, foreſees what Choice he will make, and provides accordingly by that which enſues, *viz.*

4. Directive Providence; That although Almighty God doth not, by any Pre-determination, Counſel his Creature to Sin, yet by the Infinite Proſpect of his Knowledge, foreſeeing, that he will Sin; the Divine Counſel moſt Wiſely Holily and Mercifully manageth and directeth even this Sinful Action of Men, or other Free Agent, to the beſt good that it is capable of: That a Free-Agent ſhould be made, and yet of a Peccable and Mutable Nature, it was no Error of Divine Providence: for indeed, as naturally, every Created Being is Mutable; ſo it is nothing of Imperfection for

for a Free Agent to be *liber ad oppoſita*: The Electing of what is Evil, by ſuch a Free Agent, indeed is a thing permitted by God, but is the Act or Obliquity of the Agent that might have done otherwiſe: But the Direction and Conduct of that Action to a moſt excellent End, is the effect of this moſt Wiſe moſt Pure directive Counſel of Almighty God.

But more ſhall be ſaid, in relation hereunto, when we come to conſider of the Divine Providence, in relation to Man; for the Truth is the External Gubernation, and Providence is but *Divinum Decretum Enucleatum*, the Detection and Diſcovery of that Counſel and Decree of God, that was before ſecret and hidden.

I come to thoſe External Acts of the Divine Counſel, the Adminiſtration of his Kingdom, *viz.* Creation and Providence.

Firſt, Creation is of Two Kinds, viz. *Creatio Prima*, which is the Production of a Being from not Being.

Secondly, *Creatio Secunda*; The Production of a Being out of ſuch a Being, and in ſuch a Method or Way as exceeds all Created Power.

For the Former of theſe Creations, *viz.* The Production of Something out of ſimply Nothing, which is the greateſt effect that is imaginable, becauſe the Diſtance between the Extremes, *viz.* Simple, not Being, and Being in the infiniteſt diſtance

that

that is imaginable, and therefore is a Work peculiarly belonging to an Omnipotent Power.

This Creation is of those Primordial Rudiments of all other things, and therefore Compriseth these Two things, *viz.* The Production of Spiritual, or Incorporeal Natures, and these seem to be compleated in the First Creation, and had no other Superinduced Formation, or *Creatio Secunda* upon them but they were compleated in the Compleatment and Perfection of their Being in the First instant of their Creation; such are Angelical Natures, and Separate Intelligences.

Secondly, The Production of the Rudiments of things Corporeal, which seems to include Two things,

First, The Common Mass of Matter; And,

Secondly, The Common Spirit of Material Beings.

As the former is the *Materia Prima* of Bodies, so the latter may possibly be the *Materia Prima*, as I may call it of Substantial Forms; and these lay confusedly mixed together, so that neither was the Matter purely *Informis*, for that were impossible to suppose such a subsistence of Matter, or Corporeal *Moles*, without any kind of Form; nor is it on the other side imaginable, that the *Spiritus Universi*, as I may call it, was distinct, compleat, or subsisting without Matter; but they were both mingled indistinctly together, till the Particles of this Common Matter, and the Particles of this Common Spirit, or Form were called out in the *Creatio Secunda*,

cunda, or the Formation of things, and Reduction of these Indigested Rudiments of the *Mundus Spectabilis* into their several Ranks and Orders.

Non bene junctarum discordia semina rerum.

And this way that Chaos, the Work of Beginning, consisting of these Two parts, mentioned in the First and Second Verses of the First of *Genesis*, viz. The Earth, or that *Moles Corporea*, which is called the Abyss, or Deep; and that *Spiritus* that moved, or agitated the Waters, which, with submission, I conceive was not the Pure Essential Spirit of God, the Third Person in the Sacred Trinity; but a Spirit Created by the Energy and Vertue of that Spirit, and mingled with the Mass of Matter.

In the Precedent Discourses the necessity of the Hypothesis of the Creation of all things out of simply nothing, is, to my Understanding, fully evinced, and there shall not need any Repetition of it; and most certainly the First Chapter of *Genesis*, which doth admirably shew the Steps and Method of the Whole Creation, doth wonderfully gratifie even the Light of Natural Reason, discovering the particular Method of that Production of the World which the Light of Reason evinceth to have been at first produced; though it cannot, without Divine Revelation, discover the Steps and Method of it. And on the other, the Light of Nature doth *Suffragari*, and bear Witness to the Truth of the Scriptures, which Light of Nature carries us to a Recognition, that it had an Original; though, without the help of Revelation it cannot discover the Method or Order of it.

The

The *Creatio Secunda* is that Formation of things Viſible or Corporeal out of thoſe Rudiments of Matter, and Form, or Spirit, which was prepared by the *Creatio Prima:* Conſiſting principally in theſe things,

1. The Segregation of certain parts of Matter, and ſuitable parts of the *Spiritus Materiæ.*

2. The Coagulation and Coagmentation of thoſe Separated Parts, according to the various Natures of Things.

3. The Tranſpoſition and Location of them in their moſt ſuitable Places and Stations.

4. The Accommodating them with thoſe various Accidents that were convenient and ſuitable to them, and to the Univerſe.

5. The Moulding and Faſhioning of the various Furniture of the ſeveral Greater Bodies, as by Particles of Matter and Form, or Spirit, Aſſumed and Fitted for their Individual and Specifical Natures.

6. The Conſtitution of Man, and deriving into him a Reaſonable Soul, of a higher and more Noble Allay than that *Spiritus Mundanus*, which was, as it were, the Common Spirit of the *Mundus Aſpectabilis.*

And in this whole Proceſs, not only of the *Creatio Prima*, but of the *Creatio Secunda*, or the Eduction of particular things out of that Maſs of common Proviſion, which was Sub-miniſtred by the *Creatio Prima*, we muſt, of Neceſſity, acknowledge theſe enſuing Truths.

First, That they were not the Productions of Second Cauſes, but the immediate Production of Almighty God, by his Will and Power; and we need go no farther for an Evidence of it than this: If the Temperature of the Matter, the Natural Influx of the Heavens, the Energy of Firſt Qualities, were the cauſes of theſe Productions; Why, in all the Experience that the World hath had theſe Four thouſand Years, and more; why in all this time hath not any part of the World yielded a Man, or ſo much as a Horſe, or a Sheep, of ſuch a Production, without the ordinary Courſe of Generation?

Secondly, That yet it may be probable that the Immediate Inſtrument which the Divine Power uſed in the External Formation of Creatures, may be the Formation of that Subſtantial Form, or Spirit, and uniting it to Matter, ſo that the Formation of the External ſhape of things might be the Ideal Impreſſion of that Form upon the prepared Matter; this poſſibly may be becauſe we ſee the Formation of the Externals of Bodies is ſtill immediately Effected by the Seminal Ideal Energy of the Subſtantial Form. But poſſibly it might be otherwiſe, for poſſibly the firſt Conſtitution of things might be of another Nature than what now appears.

Thirdly, That as they were the immediate Production of the Divine Power, ſo it was a production not *ex neceſſitate naturæ*, but *ex intentione intendentis*

Fourthly,

Fourthly, That as it was the Production of Almighty God, not as a Neceſſary, but as a Free Agent, ſo it was a Production of Infinite Wiſdom, and Admirable Contrivance. This is the Subject of ſome of the Precedent Tracts.

Matth. VII. 12.

Therefore all things whatſoever ye would that Men ſhould do to you, do ye even ſo to them; For this is the Law and the Prophets.

Luke VI. 31. *And as ye would that Men ſhould do to you, do ye alſo to them likewiſe.*

ALmighty God, in his giving out the Moral Law unto the *Jews*, (which is indeed little elſe than a Repetion, or Recapitulation of the Law of Nature) Included, or Inſcribed them in two Tables; the firſt importing the Natural Duties that a Man owes to God; the ſecond Importing, the Duties a Man owes to Man, or (which is all one) to his Neighbour.

Our Redeemer made a ſhorter Abſtract of both theſe Tables, *Matth.* 22. 37, &c. yet taken out of the Ancient Writings of the Law: *The firſt and great Commandment*, or the Abſtract of the Firſt Table, *Thou ſhalt love the Lord thy God with all thy heart, and with all thy ſoul, and with all thy mind*; which

which is the ſame in ſubſtance with that of *Deut.* 6. 5. The Second Commandment, or the Abſtract of the Second Table; *Thou ſhalt love thy Neighbour as thy ſelf:* being the ſame with that of *Levit.* 19. 18. *On theſe two Commandments hang all the Law and the Prophets*; that is, the ſeveral Precepts, Prohibitions, and Counſels contained in the Law and the Prophets, are, as it were, ſo many Commentaries, or Explications of theſe Two Great Commandments.

And the Apoſtle, *Rom.* 13. 9, 10. having occaſion to Commend this great Habit of Love, which he elſewhere, *viz.* 1 Cor. 13. calls by the Name of Charity, follows his Maſter's Doctrine, and reſolves the whole Duty of the Second Table, into the ſame Great Command, *Thou ſhalt love thy Neighbour as thy ſelf.*

In this Text of *Matth.* 7. 12. and *Luke* 6. 31. Our Lord gives us an Explication of this Second Great Commandment, of Loving our Neighbour as our Self, in a brief but moſt clear Propoſition, or Precept.

And the Excellency of this Precept conſiſts in theſe particulars among many others.

Firſt, It is compendious and ſhort, the Volumes of Morality that have been written, both by Chriſtian and Heathen *Philoſophers*, though they contain many excellent Precepts, yet they are very large, and ſuch as every Man hath not opportunity to Read; and thoſe that have Read them, or ſome of them, cannot eaſily remember the many particulars contained in them. Our Lord therefore hath given us this brief and compendious Pre-

cept, which is eaſie and familiar to be remembred.

Secondly, Though it be a Compendious Precept, yet it is a Comprehenſive Precept, and ſuch as contains the whole Duty of Man in Relation to others.

There was well-known, not only among the *Jews*, but among the Heathen, the Prohibitory part of this Precept, namely, *Quod tibi fieri non vis alteri ne feceris.* We find it among the Ancient *Jews*, Tobit 4. 15. and among the Ancient Heathens; inſomuch, that one of the *Roman* Emperors cauſed it to be Written in Letters of Gold, as his Choice Motto, in ſeveral parts of his Palace.

And indeed that Negative Precept contains very much of Moral Righteouſneſs, becauſe it extends to the Prohibition of all Acts of Injuſtice, or Unrighteouſneſs. But this Precept of the Goſpel doth not only Vertually Prohibit all Acts of Injuſtice and Unrighteouſneſs, but it doth expreſly Command and Injoyn all Acts of Charity, Goodneſs and Beneficence; and conſequently is a Precept not only of Moral Juſtice, but of Evangelical Perfection, far beyond whatever the Choiceſt Heathen Moraliſt ever required, or ſo much as thought of, as ſhall be in due time ſhown. And yet farther, it doth not only comprehend all the Subjects or Matter of Moral Juſtice, and Chriſtian Charity, which is a large and comprehenſive Subject; but it directs likewiſe the manner of it, do ye even ſo to them, with the ſame Sincerity, and Integrity, and Simplicity, and Affection of Heart, as you would have it done to you.

Thirdly,

Thirdly. As it is a Compendious and Comprehenſive, ſo it is a plain and perſpicuous, and Self-evident Rule; it ſends not a Man to conſult with this or that *Philoſopher*, or *Schoolman*, or *Caſuiſt*, to be reſolved touching the thing to be forborn, or done: But ſends a Man to himſelf, and to that in himſelf, which is moſt evident to himſelf; namely, what he would wiſh to be done to himſelf, in the like Condition. Which, if a Man will be but as honeſt to himſelf, as he may, he can eaſily determine and Judge. So that of this Precept I may ſay, as *Moſes* doth elſewhere concerning the Law, *Deut.* 30. 11. *Behold! This Commandment which I command thee this day, is not hidden from thee, neither is it afar of. It is not in Heaven,* &c. *neither is it beyond the Sea,* &c. *But the word is very nigh unto thee, in thy Mouth, and in thy Heart, that thou mayeſt do it.*

Fourthly. It is ſuch a Rule as is particular, and particularly directive, as to the action in queſtion, under all its Circumſtances. It is true, that the general Precepts of doing that which is good and juſt, are very true, ſound, natural Precepts, and common notions that are implanted in our Nature, and allowed by all; but yet they ſerve not as ſufficient directions to particular actions; and the reaſon is excellently given by the Moraliſt, becauſe ſtill the difficulty remains in a juſt and true application, or accommodation of theſe common Notions to particular Actions. And this is that that makes perpetual Controverſies between one Man and another, though both Parties agree in the common Notions, that what is juſt and honeſt ought

to be done: But this Precept gives a Direction particularly accommodated to every Action of a Man's Life: Becauſe it is ſtill an eaſie and ready Appeal, Would I have that Man do that to me, which I am about to do to him?

Fifthly, It is a Rule full of Conviction: when another Man gives his Judgment concerning my Action, I am rarely ſatisfied with his Judgment, becauſe it differs from that Judgmentt which perchance I make; but, when the Judgment is my own, I muſt needs be convinc'd of what I Judge. And therefore when *Nathan* came to *David*, and put him a Caſe in a Third Perſon, which exactly ſquared with the Caſe of *David*, in relation to *Uriah* and his Wife, and *David* paſſed his Judgment therein; and it after appeared that it was his own Caſe; there was nothing more to be ſaid, he is convinced by his own Judgment that he hath paſſed: So when a Man turns the Tables, as the Proverb is, and makes another Man's Caſe his, his Judgment muſt needs be full of Demonſtrative, and Unqueſtionable, and Cogent Conviction, and conſequently muſt needs have a ſtrange, forcible, and almoſt irreſiſtible Direction, in relation to the doing, or not doing of the Action propounded.

Sixthly, It is a Rule that carries with it a ſtrange and forcible Reaſonableneſs, Congruity and Juſtice, if a Man give himſelf but ſo much leave and Patience to ſcan, and conſider, and examine it.

Firſt, It is a moſt reaſonable and evidently juſt Rule; For with what imaginable Juſtice can I do that

that to him, that I Judge unfit or unjuſt for him to do to me? Or with what pretence of Juſtice, or Congruity can I Judge that which is fit for him to do to me, to be unfit for me to do to him? (taking in the Qualifications hereafter ſubjoyned.)

Again, *Secondly*, It is a Principle of much Peace and Security to him that practiſeth it. Among ſome others there ſeem to be two great occaſions of Injuſtice and Injury, and Violence from one Man to another.

1. The Paſſion of Revenge, which induceth Retaliation, or inflicting an Injury upon him from whom a Man hath received an Injury.

2. The Paſſion of Fear, or Suſpicion, leſt a Perſon may have Opportunity and Will to do a Man harm; and therefore the Perſon fearing begins firſt with him he fears, thereby to diſable him to do the Injury feared; and theſe two cauſe much of the Injuſtice, Violence, and Oppreſſion in the World: But a Man that takes up, and practiſeth this Rule, as he cannot give an Irritation to Revenge, becauſe this Principle keeps him from doing an Injury, ſo he is ſecure from the Injury ariſing from anothers Fear; becauſe his Living according to this Principle, gives a clear aſſurance to all Men, that they need not fear, or ſuſpect an Injury from him, becauſe inconſiſtent with this admirable Rule, whereby he directs his Courſe, and ſo his Innocence and Juſtice is his great foundation of his Peace and Tranquility in this Life; and conſequently this Principle, and the Practice thereof, is the greateſt Wiſdom, and the beſt Proviſion for

for Peace in the World. If I do to others no otherwise than I would have them to do to me, no reasonable Man can be my Enemy.

Seventhly, It is a Rule that hath that clear Analogy with our Reason, and the Terms so evidently connected, that the Mind assents to the truth and goodness of it, without any Process of Ratiocination. There are many Moral Truths, that though they be most certainly true, and good, yet before the Mind can clearly discover, or assent unto them, it is necessary to have some antecedent Discursive Process, or Ratiocination, such are many Deductions and Conclusions from the more Universal Principles. But again, as in Nature, and Mathematical Sciences, so in Morals, there are some *dictamina moralia* that have that clear and evident Connection in them, and that plain Congruity to Natural Justice, that at the first Proposal of them, nay, it may be, without any Proposal of them, the Soul assents to the things, by a kind of Immediate Intuition, and *primo intuitu*, without the use of Ratiocination, or Discursive Disquisition; As the Eye of Sense, as soon as it is open, discerns the Light, or Call, without any kind of Solemn Process to evince it to be such; so there be some kind of Truths, that the Eye of the Understanding assents to *quasi per saltum, & per intuitum*, without the necessity or use of Processive, or Inductive Ratiocination: The Connection between the Terms of the Propositions, or Antecedent and Conclusion, are so plain and evident, that the Assent is wrought in a Moment.

Nay yet farther, as in the sensible or vegetable Nature, there seem to be implanted, by the wise God,

God, certain Rules, which we call Natural Inſtincts, that are viſibly uſed in the higheſt degree of rational Evidence, to their Production, Preſervation and Perfection; which, though they are moſt Wiſe, and Rational Rules, yet the Vegetable and Senſible Nature do, without any innate, active Reaſon in themſelves, conſtantly follow: So it ſeems in the Rational Soul, or Conſcience, or Mind, or whatever elſe we pleaſe to term it, there are certain Moral Truths, of great Weight and Moment, and Neceſſity, for due Regulation of the Life of Man, in order to Almighty God himſelf; and others which are Connaturally implanted in the Mind, and may, without Injury, be called Rational Inſtincts; which, though they are admirably reaſonable, and ſuch as will evidently appear ſo upon a Diſcurſive Proceſs; yet the Mind and Inclination of the Will is carry'd to aſſent unto, and approve them antecedently to any formal ſucceſſive and deductive Proceſs, or Ratiocination of the Underſtanding, and grows up with a Man to greater Strength, Force, and Efficacy, as he increaſeth in Age: And the Moral Precepts, that either by their ſelf-evidence, *primo intuitu*, to the Intellectual Faculty; or by their Connatural Implantation and Inſition into the Soul, are thus diſcovered, without the Manuduction of a Diſcurſive Proceſs, or Train of Ratiocination, are juſtly called Laws of Nature.

And ſuch is this Precept we have in hand, which, without any Antecedent Inſtruction, or Ratiocination, is allowed, and approved, and embraced *primo intuitu*; either becauſe it is a Moral and Rational Inſtinct Connaturally implanted in the Soul, as one of its Inſcriptions, or Signatures; or at leaſt becauſe

becauſe it holds ſuch a clear, evident, plain Congruity, with our Intellective Faculty, that, at the firſt Conception of it, without more work, it aſſents to it as fit, and juſt, and good, without any Antecedent, either Inſtruction or Argumentation, or Deduction: as it doth, at the firſt view, conclude, that two is more than one, without the Expectation of a Demonſtration thereof.

And hence it is, that all that have written of Laws of Nature, although perchance they differ in their ſeveral Suppoſitions touching ſuch Laws, and the Reaſon of them, yet have generally vouched this great Precept, *Quod fieri tibi non vis alteri ne feceris*, among the Unqueſtionable Laws of Nature.

They that ſuppoſe the Laws of the Rational Nature to be therefore ſuch, becauſe they are Inſcribed, as it were, and Congenite with, and in the *Syntereſis*, or Seat of Principles in the Soul, ſuppoſe this Moral Rule of Juſtice and Charity likewiſe Inſcribed Connaturally in the Natural Conſcience: And they that ſuppoſe the Soul to be *raſa tabula*, and to have no ſuch Moral, or other Truths Inſcribed in it, nor to have any Connatural Propoſition thereunto Analogal to the Inſtincts of Inferior Animals; but only an Accommodation of the Intellectual Faculties to the External Objects: Yet ſuppoſe this to be a Natural Principle of Moral Juſtice and Righteouſneſs, becauſe it carries a plain and ready Evidence in it ſelf, and a certain eaſie Congruity to our Faculties, whereby, at the firſt view, without any neceſſity of Ratiocination, or Deduction in a Diſcurſive Proceſs, the Underſtanding, *primo intuitu*, and at the firſt propoſal thereof, aſſents to it as true and good. And again, they that

that will not allow of Laws of Nature upon either of the two former Accounts, but only will have ſuch to be Laws of Nature, which, upon an account of Reaſon, appears to be immediately, or conſequentially conducible to Self-preſervation; yet allow this to be a Law of Nature, even upon that account, as highly conducible to the ſafety, good and benefit of every Man: Becauſe he that doth to another, what he would have another do to him, ſecretly inclines another to do the like by him.

Eighthly, It is a Rule commenſurate to the whole reaſonable Nature; every Perſon that hath but the common uſe of Reaſon, may exerciſe it without any difficulty. Every Reaſonable Man hath a Reaſonable Will; and every Reaſonable Man may know what it is he Wills, and what it is he would, or would not another ſhould do to him. For the Will is a Rational Power in Man, and indeed it is the Complement of the Rational Precedure in the Soul, and that which doth, or ſhould, immediately follow the laſt Act of the Underſtanding; willing it the full complete ripe fruit of the Rational Soul in things to be done. And therefore this, whatſoever ye would, ſuppoſeth an Antecedent Conſideration of theſe things.

1. A Conſideration of his own State and Condition, that is about to do, or not to do, the thing under Deliberation.

2. A Conſideration of the Perſon, to whom the thing under Deliberation is to be done.

3. A

3. A Consideration of the thing it self that is under deliberation.

4. A Consideration of the several Circumstances, Congruities, and Incongruities that accompany the thing under Deliberation.

5. A due transposing of the Persons, by way of Fiction, or Supposition; namely, he that is under proposal of being the Agent, putting himself into the Condition of the Patient, and putting the Patient in the place of the Agent; and then making the Decision upon it fairly and impartially.

And although that one Man's Reason, and Learning, and Judgment, may be much greater, and clearer than anothers; and there may be very many Curious Inquisitions and Descants upon every Action that comes under this kind of Deliberation, which every Man cannot attain unto, nor possibly reach; yet here is the Excellency of this Rule, That he needs no other Reason, no other Scrutiny, no other help but his own, to make this Decision, if he will be but what every one may be, if he please, True, and Faithful, and Honest to himself, he needs no other Casuist, no other Umpire but himself, though he have but an ordinary capacity, and a common use of his Reason and Understanding.

Ninthly, This Rule is a Rule, that if followed, takes off all that, that for the most part, makes a Man partial and unequal, in determining touching his own Actions: The great Reason of inequality, in

in the Actions of Men, is ſelf-love, that makes a Man partial to himſelf; and all his own Actions, that warps a Man from that Equality and Juſtice that ſhould direct him. When I find that this or that Action would be beneficial to me, I preſently am carry'd away by ſelf-love, either to do it without any farther Examination; or if I give my ſelf leave to conſider the lawfulneſs of it, ſelf-love and Intereſt blinds my Judgment, and preſently perſwades me that it is lawful, becauſe profitable to me: Or if I allow my ſelf any farther Diſpute touching it, yet ſelf-love will deceive me, and make thoſe Arguments ſeem ſtrongeſt that make for my Intereſt: And ſo on the contrary, if I am under conſideration of ſome Action that is to my loſs, ſelf-love will uſe the like Sophiſtry upon my Judgment, and bring me off from it: But this Rule, if followed, diſchargeth me of that partiality that I have to my ſelf, or doth infallibly, even to my Senſe, detect it and take it off. For when I put my ſelf in the ſtead and perſon of that other perſon, to whom the Action is to be done; and find, that under that capacity and ſuppoſition, I would not have that Action done to me, which I am about to do to another, or would have that Action deny'd to me, that I am about to deny to another; the Action appears to me truly as it is, and as it is ſtript of that diſguiſe that ſelf-love would put upon it, and removes that partiality that otherwiſe ſelf-love would incline me to, and gives me a true Repreſentation of the Action whereby I cannot err through ſelf-love without apparent perverſeneſs, and willful reſolved Unjuſtice, which cannot be preſumed in a Reaſonable Man.

And

And these be those General Observations, touching the Excellence and Usefulness of this Excellent Precept of Moral Righteousness.

I shall now proceed to consider the Parts and Extent of this Precept. The Heads whereof are as follow.

I. The Object, touching which this Precept is given, it is Moral Actions between Man and Man, together with the Extent of the Object, *Whatsoever ye would, or whatsoever ye would not.*

II. The Subject, with its Extent, namely Man, *Whatsoever ye would that Men should do to you, that do ye to them.* Men Indefinitely, and therefore Men Universally.

III. The Rule directing those Actions, no other but the Will of him that is to do the Action, under a change or transposition of his Person; *Whatsoever ye would that Men should do to you, that do ye to them.*

IV. The Extent of the Rule, under a Threefold Relation.

1. To the thing to be done.

2. To the Manner of doing, *Do ye even so to them likewise.*

3. To the Application of the Rule, which is,

First,

First, Preceptive, which it expreſſes; *Whatſoever ye would that Men ſhould do to you.*

Secondly, Prohibitive, implies, *What ye would not that Men ſhould do to you, that do ye not to them.*

I begin with the Object of this Rule, which are the Moral Actions between Men; and therefore it will not be amiſs to give ſome account touching them. Moral Actions of Mankind are diſtinguiſh'd either in reſpect of the Object to which they relate, or in reſpect of the Subject wherein they are, or in reſpect of the Nature and Quality of the Actions themſelves.

I. In reſpect of the Object to which they relate; and they are theſe;

Firſt, Either ſuch as relate to Almighty God, which come under the Denomination of Piety, or Impiety, according to the Nature of the Actions; or,

Secondly, Such as relate to Men; ſuch as are Juſtice, Righteouſneſs, *&c.* or Injuſtice, Unrighteouſneſs, *&c.* Righteouſneſs being a larger and more comprehenſive word than Juſtice.

II. In relation to the Subject: So Moral Acts may be diſtinguiſhed into ſuch as are internal; as Love to God, Fear of God, Reverence to him, Dependence upon him, with relation to God: Love

to Man, Compaſſion to him, an Internal Active Habit of Righteouſneſs, Goodneſs, Juſtice, with relation to Man: Or External, that flow Immediately from the outward Man, though from an inward Principle, as Adoration, External Obedience unto the Commands of God, in relation to him; Acts of Juſtice, Righteouſneſs, Charity, in relation to Men.

III. In relation to the Nature and Quality of the Action, whether towards God or Man, Intellectual or External: Some Actions are Morally good, as Piety, Obedience to God, Love, Righteouſneſs, Charity to Man. Some are Morally Evil, as Impiety, Diſobedience to God, Malice, Hatred, Envy, Cruelty, Unjuſtice towards Men.

The Moral Goodneſs of every Act or Action of Mankind, whether Internal or External relating to God or Man, conſiſts in the Conformity thereof to the Will and Command of God, which is the Primitive Rule of all Moral Goodneſs: And the Moral Evil of any Act or Action is the Deformity, Deviation, or Contrariety thereof to the Will or Law of God.

Our Lord, when he gave an Abſtract of the Will and Love of God, diſtributed it into thoſe two Great Commandments, *Love to God, with all the Heart, and with all the Soul: And Love to Man as to our ſelves.* The firſt of theſe is indeed the Great Command, that as it is the Root of our Love to Man, ſo it ought to be the greateſt Principle to move it, and the Primitive Rule to qualifie and direct it: But in the Command in hand, the Latter, namely, the Command touching our Love

Love to our Neighbour, or to Mankind, and the Offices thereof, is the Subject in hand; therefore it is our buſineſs to enquire, what is that Love of God that concerns our Acts or Actions to Mankind, whereby they are denominated good, if conſonant to that Law, or Morally Evil, if contrary to it.

The Law of God, touching Moral Goodneſs, relating to Man, is of Two Kinds.

Firſt, That which reſpecteth the Inward Man, or that Habit, or thoſe Acts of Moral Goodneſs that orginally reſide in the Mind, the Principal whereof commanded is Love; and that Train of Excellent Habits that follow it, as Righteouſneſs, Beneficence, Charitableneſs, Meekneſs, Patience, Gentleneſs, which are required by the Command of God, and in this Rule preſcribed, under the words *ſo*, and *likewiſe*. And on the other ſide, the Habits or Vices forbidden by the Law of God, are Hatred, Malice, Envy, Revengefulneſs, Cruelty, Unmercifulneſs, and all that black Train of the Diſeaſes of the Mind.

Secondly, That which reſpecteth the Actions of the Outward Man, may be reduced under theſe Two General Heads, namely, Righteouſneſs and Charity.

Righteouſneſs between Man and Man conſiſts in theſe two Generals:

1. In doing no Injury.
2. In giving to every Man his due.

The former part of Righteousness consists in doing no wrong: and regularly all sorts of Injuries are reductive to the Five last Commandments of the Second Table, though even under those Prohibitions there is commanded virtually the contrary of what is in them forbidden. By these Prohibitory Laws of God, all Injuries to the Person of any Man, all Violence, Rapine, Deceit, Cozenage, Fraud, all false Accusation, Lying, false Defamation, or Testimony, are Prohibited; and in these Prohibitory Laws the Negative part of this Rule is most concerned, *Quod tibi fieri non vis alteri ne feceris.*

The former, namely, the Positive Part of Righteousness, *Suum cuique tribuere*, hath a double respect.

First, Either to Mankind in General; or,
Secondly, To Mankind under some Relation.

First, To Mankind in General; and herein the great Root, or Foundation of Righteousness between Man and Man, is that Great, Divine and Natural Precept, *Fidem serva*, or *fides est servanda*; for the Truth is, all Moral Precepts of Righteousness are reducible to this one: And there are Two kind of *fides data*, either that which is given Expressively, or that which is given Implyedly, or Interpretatively: The former respects especially Contracts and Bargains and Pacts, though even in these there is also an Implyed Faith; as if I sell Goods to another, it is Implyed, that if I know them not to be my own, I am bound to make Restitution, for I sell not *bona fide*, but *mala fide*.

The

The Second ſort of *fides*, is that which is Implyed, and by common Interpretation ſo eſteemed. Thus, as a Man is a part of the Common Society of Mankind, he doth, by way of Interpretation, undertake to obſerve thoſe Common Laws that are Introduced by the Law of Nations: So if a Man doth become a Member of any Civil Society, he Tacitly obligeth himſelf to the obſervation of the Laws and Cuſtoms of that Society; and hither alſo reductively all the Mutual Offices (whereof in the next Section) may be brought, as to the Primary Law, or Obligation.

Now this part of Righteouſneſs that Intervenes between Man and Man generally, is, *ſuum cuique tribuere*: This therefore ſuppoſeth a Right, or Propriety ſetled in that Perſon to which it is to be given; and this Right of Propriety may be lodged in another, by ſome of theſe ways.

First, By the Divine Poſitive Law. Thus under the State of the *Jews*, a right of Propriety was lodged in the Prieſts, for their parts of the Burnt-Offerings; and in the *Levites* for their Tythes; and he that with held them was an Unrighteous Man; he did not *ſuum tribuere*.

Secondly, *Jure naturæ*; As I have Intereſt by the Law of Nature in my own Breaſt, and Family and Children.

Thirdly, By the *jus gentium*; where it is not Corrected by a Municipal Law. Thus the *primus inventor*, or poſſeſſor of things, whereof no particular Intereſt was lodged in another, acquires a Property,

and he that detains it from him is Unrighteous: Thus *Reuben* hath a right to the Mandrakes which he found, againſt *Rachel*, and they were not to be taken from him but by his own conſent, or the conſent of his Parents, who by the uſe then obtaining, had the Power over them.

Fourthly, By the Municipal Laws or Cuſtoms of that Kingdom, or City, wherein a Man lives; for as hath been ſaid, every Man that enters into any Society tacitly and interpretatively, obligeth himſelf to obſerve the Laws and Cuſtoms thereof, and particularly ſuch as direct the manner of acquiring and transferring Property.

Fifthly, By a Man's own particular Agreement; and this may be with relation either to Words or Things.

Sixthly, In relation to Words or Signs: When one Man, either by Words or Signs, imparts any thing to another, that other Man hath an Intereſt therein; namely, that the Man relates, or imparts what is true; and therefore he that knowingly, and with an intention to deceive, tells another a Lye, he doth not *ſuum tribuere*; namely, that truth that the Words or Signs import; and this part of Juſtice between Man and Man is called Veracity.

Secondly, in relation to Things; I may tranſer a Right or Property to another ſeveral ways; for under this Head come all the ſeveral parts, or reſpects of Commutative Juſtice: I ſhall reduce them ſhortly to theſe Two Heads;

1. Tran-

1. Tranſlation of Properties, by way of Contract, whereby that which is mine, becomes anothers in point of Propriety, as by Sale, Location, *&c.* It is a part of this Moral Righteouſneſs, that I detain it not from him to whom I have ſold it.

2. Tranſlation of Intereſt, by way of Stipulation, or Agreement; which, though it do not always alter the Property, yet it gives another an Intereſt in my Performance thereof; ſuch are the Reſtitution of what is Borrowed, Delivery of the Pledge upon Payment, Payment of Money, or Delivery of Goods according to Promiſe. And thus far concerning that Common Righteouſneſs which is between Man and Man.

Secondly, The Second kind of Righteouſneſs relates to others, as they ſtand in a different Relation; theſe are thoſe which I have before called Moral Offices, or *Officia Moralis Juſtitiæ*; whereas, though between theſe various Relations, there are Reciprocations of Mutual Offices, yet therefore Reciprocation is not in the ſame Kind or Nature. And theſe Relations are eſpecially Two, Oeconomical, and Political.

Firſt, The Relations Oeconomical conſiſt in Three Kinds of Relations.

1. Father and Children: Wherein, though there be ſome Offices that are ſimply Reciprocal, as Love, and Mutual Support; yet there are ſome that are Specifical to ſuch Relation, as Authoritative Direction, Command, and Correction to the

Father; Subjection and Obedience to the Children.

2. Husband and Wife, wherein there be alſo ſome Duties ſimply reciprocal, as Love, and Fedelity; ſo there are ſome that are appropriate, as Protection and Maintenance to the Husband, Reverence to the Wife.

3. Maſter and Servant, wherein alſo there are Duties ſpecifically appropriate; as Payment of Wages, Convenient Supplies, *&c.* to the Maſter; Diligence, Fidelity and Obedience to the Servant.

Secondly, The Relations Political; are principally Prince or Magiſtrate, and People; wherein,

1. The Offices of the Prince, or Magiſtrate, are,

First, Protection.

Secondly, Government according to Law.

Thirdly, Adminiſtration of Juſtice;
Retributive, to be done Juſtly Speedily, with Equality and due Moderation:
Diſtributive; in Diſtribution of Publick Offices, *&c.* to be done Prudently, and according to deſert and fitneſs.

2. The Offices of the People, relative to Prince or Magiſtrate; Subjection, Obedience, Reverence, Support. Theſe are various and divers, according to

to the ſeveral Conſtitutions of Kingdoms, States, and Cities, wherein their ſeveral Municipal Laws direct the Quality or Nature of the ſeveral Offices of Prince and People, with relation each to other.

And thus far touching Righteouſneſs, according to a regular and ſtrict Senſe.

Secondly, The next part of the Divine Law is the Law of Charity, or rather Love, *Philanthropy*, which comes equally under the Command of the Law, as that of Righteouſneſs or Juſtice; and indeed it is but a Species of Righteouſneſs in its large and comprehenſive Senſe: yet, with this difference, the Rules of Righteouſneſs are more defined and determinate: But the Rules of Charity, in relation to the exerciſe of the particular Acts thereof, are, in many things, more left to the *dictamen bonæ Conſcientiæ*, under the ſeveral Circumſtances of Time, Place, Perſon, Manner, Degree, *&c.* wherein, nevertheleſs, this Rule of our Saviour will be a ſingular Directive upon all Occaſions, as ſhall be hereafter ſhewn.

Now the parts of this Charity, or *Philanthropy*, ſeem to be theſe.

1. Beneficence; under which we reduce Liberality, Hoſpitality, Eleemoſynæ, or Almſgiving; the contrary whereof, are narrow-heartedneſs, Covetouſneſs.

2. Clemency; under which we may reduce, Firſt, A Mitigation, or Remiſſion of the Extremity of part of our Right, when it may be with a benefit

benefit to others, and without an Enormous Detriment to our ſelves. Secondly, The uſing of Equity, or Moderation for the Good of others, within the Extremity of Legal Right. Thirdly, Moderation. Fourthly, Longanimity, or Patient bearing of Injuries. Fifthly, Forgiveneſs of Injuries to a Perſon that ſeeks it: The contrary whereof are, a Rigorous Exaction of our own Rights to the Extremity, taking the utmoſt Advantage of the Severity of Laws, or Implacableneſs, Vindictiveneſs, Fierceneſs.

3. Inoffenſiveneſs; Denying our ſelves in what we may lawfully do, or require, rather than giving an offence by our uſe of a lawful Liberty.

4. Condeſcention to the Weakneſſes and Infirmities of others.

5. Compaſſion and Sympathy with thoſe in Miſery.

6. Humility and Lowlineſs of Deportment to others giving them Preference; the contrary whereof, is Pride, Haughtineſs, Arrogance, Self-attribution, and deſpiſing of others; Ambition, Vain-Glory.

7. A General Frame of Humanity and Benignity to all Mankind, whether Relations or Strangers, Friends or Enemies, endeavouring all good Offices to their Souls, Bodies, Eſtates, yet obſerving that due Proportion that becomes Prudence. The contrary whereof is Selfiſhneſs, making a Man's ſelf the ſingle Center and End of all he doth.

8. Gratitude,

8. Gratitude; acknowledging Benefits received, and looking upon himſelf as under an Obligation ſo to do; and ſtudying all due and decent means, and opportunities of expreſſing it.

9. Decorum, or Decency, in all our Actions, that we may avoid all poſſible offences given, and uſing this Decorum in our Geſtures, Applications, Speeches, Habit, Addreſſes, Receptions, and generally in all we do.

10. Simplicity and Sincerity in all our Actions and Works; the contrary whereof is Diſſimulation, Hypocriſie, Deceit, Circumvention, Craftineſs, Guile, which are as much againſt the Law of Charity, as Cruelty or Revenge.

11. Meekneſs and Gentleneſs; the oppoſite whereunto is Roughneſs, Stubbornneſs, Frowardneſ, Moroſity, Cenſoriouſneſs, Superciliouſneſs.

12. A fair and good Opinion of others, and a fair Interpretation of their Actions, without very juſt cauſe to the contrary: The oppoſite whereof are Evil Surmiſings, Calumnies, Backbiting, readineſs to receive, or believe Falſe Reports, Cauſeleſs Suſpicions.

13. Rejoycing in the Good and Wellfare of others, whether Friends or Enemies. The contrary whereof is Envy, Rejoycing in other Mens harms; Rejoycing when an Enemy falls into Miſchief, an Evil Eye at others Good.

14. An

14. An entire Love to Peace, and endeavouring by all due means and opportunity to preſerve and to reſtore it both in relation to himſelf and others; and therefore is not eaſily provoked, and is eaſily pacified, moderates his Paſſions, keeps them under Diſcipline, ſeeks Reconciliation.

Theſe are ſome of thoſe many Parts of Charity, or Love, or *Philanthropy*, that Vertue that ſo much commends the Chriſtian Religion, above all other Religions in the World, in relation to the Moral Actions between Man and Man; it is a large and comprehenſive Duty, and ſuch as hath an influence into all the Moral Actions of our Lives, and therefore 'tis hardly poſſible to Enumerate all the Parts of it. But this may ſerve for our Direction in the application of this Rule of our Saviour.

Thus we have the Subject matter of this Rule; The *whatſoever* including all the Moral Actions between Man and Man, whether Actions that relate to Righteouſneſs, or Juſtice, or the Actions that relate to Charity.

And this Rule of our Saviour is very uſeful in relation to both; but eſpecially to thoſe Actions that concern Charity: For the Works of Moral Juſtice, or Injuſtice, are more determinate, not only by the Divine Laws of God, but in a great meaſure by the very Laws of Men alſo, in every particular Kingdom, or State, which commands ſome things, and prohibits others, in things relating to Moral Juſtice or Injuſtice; and Eſtabliſheth certain Tribunals, or Courts, that, by Civil Coercion compel the Obſervance of thoſe Rules of Moral Righteouſneſs injoyned by Laws, and puniſh

niſh the Violation thereof: And therefore the Laws of Men, in ſuch caſes, do not only direct that Moral Juſtice that is to be between Man and Man, but compels the obſervance of it.

But the Divine Law of Charity is not ſo determinate and particular in its exerciſe, as the Laws of Righteouſneſs and Juſtice are: If a Man kill another, he knows he Violates the Sixth Commandment; he knows he offends the Municipal Law of the Kingdom wherein he lives, and knows the Penalty of it. But when a Man denies an Alms, or is ſtrait-handed, where he ſhould be free, it is more difficult for him to diſcern his Duty, or the neglect of it, becauſe though Charity be injoyned by the Divine Law, yet the ſeveral Circumſtances, when and how, and how far forth it is to be exerciſed, are not ſo evident, but muſt neceſſarily therein be left to the Prudence and Integrity of a good Conſcience.

Again, when I Borrow Money, the Law of the Land will compell me to pay it, and make me Juſt, becauſe it is a part of that Moral Righteonſneſs that is injoyned by Humane Laws. But there are very many Acts of Charity, which, though injoyned by the Command of God, yet come not under any preciſe, or determinate Laws of Men. The Divine Law of Charity binds me to be Liberal, to give Alms, to Forgive Offences, to be thankful for Benefits, *&c.* But theſe come not under the conſideration of Humane Laws, and perchance it is not fit they ſhould, becauſe it is impoſſible for any Humane Law to accommodate it ſelf to the Circumſtances of thoſe Actions, neither can it preſcribe the Time, Manner, or Meaſure of it; but it muſt neceſſarily be left in a great meaſure to the deciſi-

deciſion of the Prudence and Integrity of the Conſciences of particular Perſons: And therefore this Rule of our Saviour is of moſt excellent uſe, and indeed of neceſſity for the direction of the Conſcience, eſpecially in theſe caſes of the Law of Charity.

1. Becauſe though the Law is General, yet the Conſcience ſtands in need of Direction, in relation to the particular Action, and the Application of that General Law to this particular Action.

2. Becauſe thoſe Actions that ſimply relate to Charity, do rarely come under the Correction of a Temporal Law: For Inſtance, the Law of *England* tells me, that I muſt pay my Rate to the Poor: Now it is no longer an Act of Charity ſimply, but of Juſtice. But the Laws of *England* do not compel me to give to this or that poor Man that asks, therein I am only obliged by the Divine Law of Charity; and my Conſcience, Circumſtances conſidered, is my great Directrix in this Action; and the Rule of our Lord here preſcribed the great Director of my Conſcience. This Rule therefore, though it be of admirable uſe in all Actions of Moral Righteouſneſs between Man and Man; yet it is not only of admirable uſe, but even of neceſſity, in relation to Acts of Charity.

Secondly, Having now done with the Object of this Precept; namely, Moral Actions, whether of Righteouſneſs or Charity; I come to the Subject or Perſons to whom this Rule or Precept is preſcribed, which is Man, under the Pronoun (*ye*) (*Whatſoever ye would*, &c.) And this Subject may be

be conſider'd Two ways. *Firſt*, Abſolutely, and in its full extent. *Secondly*, Relatively.

Firſt, Abſolutely, and in its full Extent; ſo it comprehends all Mankind; *Whatſoever ye* Men of any kind of Condition, *ye* Buyers, *ye* Sellers, *ye* Borrowers, *ye* Lenders, *ye* Rich, *ye* Poor, *ye* Friends, *ye* Enemies, *ye* Fathers, *ye* Children, *ye* Maſters, *ye* Servants, *ye* Princes, *ye* Subjects, whoſoever *ye* be, inſomuch that ye are all Subjects to the Great King of Heaven and Earth; and conſequently *ye* are, and ought to be Subjects to the Laws of God, whether they are the Laws of Imperate Righteouſneſs, or Juſtice, or Laws of Love and Charity; *ye*, whoſoever *ye* are, that are concerned in any Acts of Morality towards any others, *ye* are the Perſons to whom this Command is directed, *Whatſoever ye would that Men ſhould do to you, do ye even ſo to them.*

Secondly, Relatively, or Reſtrictively; So it is directed to Man, *Sub ratione agentis Moralis*; or, *Sub ratione hominis Moraliter acturi*: In every Moral Action that a Man is doing, or about to do, there is the Moral Action it ſelf; whereof before: And the Agent, the Perſon that is doing, or about to do the Action; and the Patient, the Perſon to whom the Action is done, or to be done. This Rule, or Precept, or Direction, is given to the Agent, or the Perſon that is doing, or about to do this Moral Action: And thus the Direction then runs, *Ye* Men of what Condition ſoever, under what Relation ſoever, that are doing, or to do, or about to do any Moral Action to another, obſerve this Rule for your Direction in this Action that

that ye are about to do, or invited to do to others, *Do as ye would be done by.*

Thirdly, I come to the Third thing; namely, that wherein the *vis directiva*, or the Rule of Direction consists; which is no other but the Will of him that is to do, or not to do the Action in question, under a Transposition of the Person; namely, the Will of him that is now the Agent, were he placed in the stead or room of him that is the Patient: As if he should have said, You, *Titius*, are now under a deliberation, whether you should, or should not do this or that particular Action to *Caius*; whether you should forgive him that Injury that he hath done to you, or whether you should over-reach him in such a Bargain; consider with your self, that were you *Caius*, and he *Titius*, would you not have him to forgive you; if you would then now forgive him: Would you have him to over-reach you in this Bargain? If you would not, then do not over-reach him. So that the Will of the Party, under this Supposition of the Transposition of the Person, is that which is prescribed as the *index directorius* of the Action under deliberation.

But because the Will in Man is a Rational Faculty, and proceeds to its Determination, upon the previous deliberation of the understanding; therefore, in this Judiciary decision, we shall find these several Acts, which every Man that hath but the ordinary use of Reason, may, and doth, with great facility exercise; and therefore may, without any difficulty, or intricacy, or uncertainty, come to a right and just determination touching any Action

Action to be done, or omitted, without Studying Caſuiſts, School-men, or Moral Philoſophers; namely,

Firſt, He may, and eaſily can conſider the Action in deliberation what it is, what are the circumſtances of it; ſuppoſe, for the purpoſe that the deliberation be, whether he ſhall forgive ſuch a treſpaſs or no; he can eaſily conſider what the treſpaſs is, of what value, how it was done, or in what manner, or with what circumſtances; whether forgiveneſs be deſired and what would the conſequence be, if the deſire ſhould be granted; whether it would not be for his Reputation, or would be a means of a future Peace and Friendſhip.

Again, Secondly, He can eaſily conſider his own Condition, whether he would be much the worſe for relinquiſhing his Satisfaction of this Injury; whether he be not well enough able to bear it, and whether it would not procure him more contentedneſs of Mind, if he did relinquiſh his Satisfaction, that would more than countervail the benefit of Revenge.

Thirdly, He could eaſily underſtand the condition of the Wrong-doer. Is he not very ſubmiſſive, deſires forgiveneſs, is ſorry for the wrong he hath done; and beſides all this, he is poor, and unable to make me ſatisfaction; and the wrong he did me was but my miſtake.

Fourthly, It is then a very eaſie matter for him to conſider; ſuppoſe I had committed the like Injury to him, by miſtake, or over-ſight, and I were

as poor as he, as unable to make ſatisfaction, as ſorrowful for the Injury, as ſubmiſſively deſiring his pardon, and he as rich as I now am, and might remit the Injury without any great detriment; certainly I may, with great eaſe, ſuppoſe this; and ſo change Perſons and Conditions with him by way of Hypotheſis, or Suppoſition.

Fifthly, He might with the ſame facility know, upon ſuch a ſuppoſition, whether he would not, upon theſe terms, willingly have the Injury forgiven him, and perchance would reaſonably think the other a very hard and uncharitable Man if he would not do it.

Sixthly, Laſtly, If he will not groſsly prevaricate with himſelf, he can, upon this, conclude, that ſince I would have him to do thus to me, were my condition his, and his mine, I muſt now do the like to him, and forgive him the Injury he thus did me, upon ſubmiſſion: I have given that Judgment already againſt him were he in my ſtead, and I in his; and therefore I muſt not, in common ingenuity, retract, unleſs I ſhall be perverſly unreaſonable againſt the very decree of my own Judgment and Will.

Thus this Excellent Rule of our Lord ſets up a Tribunal within every Man's own Breaſt, which will infallibly, and impartially direct him; and his own Will, and the Determination thereof, is become his Law and his Judge. And if he will be but honeſt and true to himſelf, he cannot be miſguided; and certainly if a Man will be honeſt and true to himſelf, he may be; and all that is neceſſa-

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ry is but to know his own Mind, or Will, what he would in case the Tables were turned, and he himself to be the Patient, and the other the Agent; and then resolvedly to act according to such a Will or Desire, which he would entertain, or think reasonable under such a Transposition.

But there are some necessary Cautions to be used in this supposed Transposition of Persons, and the result of that Judgment that is to be made thereupon.

First, Among Men there be some that seem to stand in a mere parity, as the several Members of one Community, or Society, whereby it comes to pass, that the Actions of such Men, are, as it were, Commensurable, and fall under the same Common Congruity, or Incongruity. What is Unjust, or Unfit for *Gaius* to do to *Titius*, is unfit for *Titius* to do to *Gaius*: And in such cases, the practice of this Rule is less difficult; for they stand upon the same parity of Reason: If I would not have *Titius* Cheat or Deceive Me, or take away my Goods, or Beat me; I have herein a plain Rule not to do so to him.

But there are some Persons in a Community that stand in a different relation each to other; whereby many Actions that are Competible to one, are Incompetible to another; a Magistrate and People, Master and Servant, Father and Children: And in these Actions that are specifically appropriate to one relation, a measure is not to be taken by the Actions appropriate to the other: It is not reasonable for a Father to say, I would not have my Child Correct me, and therefore I must not Correct him: Nor for a Judge to say, I would not

have the Malefactor to Condemn me to the Prison; and therefore I must not Condemn him: The Actions are specifically appropriate to a Relation; and because of the difference of Relation, there is not justly a Reciprocation of the Congruity between them, nor a Commensurableness between the Actions of one and the other.

Secondly, But even in the particularities of the Actions, specifically appropriate to Relations, this Rule doth hold with a due alteration of Suppositions. For Instance, It is an appropriate Action to the Relation of a Father to Correct his Child, and there is no Reciprocation in it: But in the particular Action it self, the Father may, and must go by this Evangelical Rule; I am about, to Correct my Child, suppose I were a Child, and having the same Reason and Judgment I have, Would I have my Father Correct me without a Fault, or without due examination, whether I committed such a Fault; or, when the Fault is so small, that it deserves only a Reprehension, and not a Correction? Or would I have him Correct me in his Passion? Or would not my Submission and Repentance Expiate the necessity of a Correction? Or would I have it done in so severe a measure? Again, I am a Judge, and therefore Sentence is my Appropriate Action, in case of a Malefactor deduced into Judgment before me: But, were I deduced into Judgment before a Judge, Would I be contented to be Judged unheard, or without due Examination of the Fact? Or would I be Censured beyond the Measure or Nature of the Offence? In these and the like Cases, the Rule holds, *Quod tibi fieri non vis alteri ne feceris.* And the

the Reaſon is becauſe though the Father hath a Specifical Power of Correcting, which is not Reciprocal from the Child to him; and the Judge hath a Power of Inflicting Puniſhment upon a Malefactor, without Reciprocation of the like Power of the Malefactor upon him; yet in the beforementioned Exceſſes he exceeds the Power committed to him; and indeed therein Acts variouſly, as a private Man, and therefore is under the Prohibition of *Quod tibi fieri non vis alteri ne feceris.*

Thirdly, And upon the ſame Reaſon it is, that although there be a Diſparity of Relations, which have their ſeveral Specifical Appropriate Actions, without a Parity of Reciprocation; yet in ſuch Actions as do intervene between ſuch Relations that are not ſpecifically appropriate to the Terms of the Relation, this Rule holds as well as between perſons not ſo related one to another: For Inſtance, the ſpecifical Actions Appropriate to a Maſter, Father, or Magiſtrate, are, without a true Command in things lawful, Correction and Punition, if there be juſt occaſion. And the ſpecifical Appropriate Actions of the Servant, Child, or Subject, are Subjection, Reverence, and Obedience: Yet the Actions of Contract and Commerce are not appropriate to thoſe Relations, but concerns them as perſons not under any ſuch Relation; and therefore the ſame Rules of Commutative Juſtice in Contracts and Commerce hold between them as between other common perſons, and conſequently the natural Rule in hand is equally applicable to both, notwithſtanding the difference of Relations; the Maſter, Parent, or Magiſtrate, may not deceive, or circumvent the Servant, Child, or Subject, in buying or

ſelling, nor *E converſo*; and therefore if I would not have my Maſter or Servant, Father or Child, Governour or Subject deceive me in buying and ſelling, or break his word with me or Injuriouſly take away my Goods or Land, I muſt not do the like to them; for theſe are common Actions of Commutative, or Private Juſtice, or Righteouſneſs that concern not a Man under thoſe diſparities of Relation.

Fourthly, The Conſcience, Will or Judgment, which is here preſcribed as the Rule, muſt be the Will, Conſcience and Judgment of him, that is to take the meaſure of his Actions thereby: And therefore, though in caſes of different Relations, there is a neceſſity of a Tranpoſition of Perſons in the application of this Rule; ſo that he that is about to do an Action, for the due regulation of that Action, and the application of this Rule, muſt oftentimes *induere perſonam alterius*: Yet the Judgment and Will, by which he muſt proceed, muſt be his own: For otherwiſe this Rule would be without any poſſible certainty, and would oftentimes occaſion great abſurdity in Actions. The excellence of this Rule conſiſts in this, that a Man hath a Judge, or Director of his own, and within himſelf, whereby to meaſure, direct, and regulate his Actions; and is not neceſſitated to go farther.

And the Reaſons hereof are theſe;

1. Becauſe otherwiſe this Rule would want much of that perfection which it hath. If a Man, upon every Moral Action which he is to exerciſe, ſhould be driven to conſult the Judgment of another, he would

would be to ſeek many times for a Director, when the imminence, or preſent exigence of the Action will not bear ſo much delay. It is true, every wiſe and good Man will as much as he can endeavour by Reading, and Advice with others, to certifie and ſettle his own Judgment and Conſcience; but when he hath ſo done, the Judgment is ſtill his own; and though perchance he hath by theſe means, altered his own Judgment, from what it was, yet this altered Judgment, is now become as much his own, as that he had before was his I do not diſſwade any Man from uſing the help of other Mens Advice, Direction and Knowledge, to rectifie his own Judgment, either in the general habit thereof, or in Relation to particular Actions, for this is prudent and neceſſary for every good and juſt Man. But all that I contend for, is, that ſtill the Judgment muſt, of neceſſity, be the Man's own that muſt Guide him in voluntary Moral Actions of his own.

But, 2. In Relation to the Rule in hand, it muſt neceſſarily be a Man's own Judgment that muſt be his Guide. It is poſſible for another Man, well converſant in Morals, to know better than my ſelf in the Theory or Notion, whether this or that Action be fit or juſt, or exactly commenſurate to the Rules of Moral Juſtice and Righteouſneſs; but it is impoſſible for any Man in the World to know ſo well as my ſelf, whether I would have another to do that to me, which I am about to do to him; this Judgment, or Conception, namely, the Knowledge of what I would that another ſhould do to me, lies only in my own Breaſt.

Again, 3. The determination of a Man's will, touching ſuch Actions as he would have another do, or not do to him, is very much diverſifyed, and varied, according to variety of circumſtances of Time, Place, Perſon and other junctures that accompany the Action, touching which the deliberation and reſolution is exerciſed. And theſe Circumſtances muſt neceſſarily have a great influence upon the reſult of my Will, touching particular Actions, which I would or would not that another ſhould do to me; and conſequently my meaſure of ſuch Actions, which I am about to do, or not to do to him, muſt thereby be greatly diverſifyed: And the Nature, Quality, and Efficacy of theſe Circumſtances, are not poſſibly ſo clear and evident to another, as they are to my ſelf; and conſequently another cannot ſo clearly determine, whether he would that another ſhould, or ſhould not do the Action to him were he in my place or ſtead; becauſe he cannot have the ſame clear proſpect of all thoſe Circumſtances which concern me in this Action, whereunto he muſt neceſſarily be more a ſtranger than my ſelf.

4. Unleſs in the tranſpoſing of Perſons, in order to make my Judgment of what I would, or would not that another ſhould do to me, and conſequently to make up thereby, what I ſhould, or ſhould not do to him; I ſay, unleſs in ſuch a caſe, I ſhould uſe that Judgment which I have at the time of ſuch deliberation and concluſion, there will follow uncertainty and deception in the application of this Rule; for Inſtance, a Phyſician or Chyrurgeon hath a Patient that is under a deſperate Diſtemper,

but

but he knows it not, or believes it not, and therefore is utterly averſe to thoſe ſharp remedies that are neceſſary for the preſervation of his life; the Phyſician or Chirurgeon muſt not meaſure his application to the Patient by this Rule. If I were in this Patients caſe, and under that apprehenſion that he is, I would not have theſe applications made to me, and therefore I muſt not make them to him. But his Rule muſt be, Were I in this Patients condition, and had that clear ſence of the danger I were in, which I now have concerning him, I would have theſe Applications made to me, therefore I will make them to him.

Again, if a Father ſees his Child hath gotten a Knife, or ſome dangerous thing, which the Child is extreamly fond of, but the Father knows it will do him miſchief: In the deliberation of the Father, whether he ſhall take away this Knife; the Rule he muſt go by muſt not be thus; If I were this Child, and had no more Underſtanding than he hath, I would not have the Knife taken from me, therefore I will not take it from him. But his procedure muſt be thus; I know the Child will do himſelf harm with this Knife, and therefore if I were this Child, and had this Underſtanding which I have, I ſhould be content this Knife that pleaſeth me ſhould be taken from me, therefore I will take it from him. Though to make the application of this Rule, I change Perſons with my Child, yet in this ſuppoſed Tranſpoſition of Perſons, I carry along with me my own Judgment, Diſcretion and Underſtanding that I now have about me; and though I aſſume my Child's Perſon in this Application, yet I aſſume not his Folly, Childiſhneſs and Paſſion.

And

And, by this Explication, a Queſtion that is often made may be reſolved, *viz.* Whether a Parent, a Nurſe, or a Magiſtrate, or a Phyſician, or any other Perſon, may not, for the good of the Child, Subject, Patient, or other Perſon, deceive him, when there is no other Expedient will avail the attaining of that good, or the avoiding of ſome imminent Evil, (always excluding a Lye out of this Controverſie.) For Inſtance, a Perſon deſperately ſick, is utterly averſe to the taking of a Potion, that would certainly or probably cure him; but extreamly fond of a Cup of ſmall Beer, that alone would endanger or hurt him. The Patient calls for ſmall Beer, and the Phyſician ſecretly conveys the Potion into the Beer, and thereby deceives, but Cures his Patient. If we ſhould meaſure this Rule by this Application; namely, If I were this Patient, and under his Diſtemper and Miſapprehenſion, I would not be thus deceived, and therefore I will not thus deceive him: I ſay, if we ſhould make this Application in this manner, the Phyſician did amiſs in this Deception, though the Patient be Recover'd by it; which ſeems to be a Miſapplication in this Tranſpoſition of Perſons. But the Rule by which the Phyſician doth, and may Juſtifie the lawfulneſs of this Deception, is this; I know the Patient will be endanger'd if he take not this Potion, or drink cold Beer without it; and though he, through his Diſtemper, knows not his own good or be averſe to it; yet, were I in his caſe, I ſhould, under that Judgment I have of things, rather be contented to be thus deceived for my Cure; and therefore I both will and may thus deceive my Patient for his good: Though to meaſure the Juſtneſs or Unjuſtneſs of this Deceit, I change the

ſuppo-

ſuppoſition of Perſons with him; yet in this Tranſpoſition I aſſume not his Diſtemper and Weakneſs of Mind, but keep my own Judgment and Underſtanding to Guide my Will, in Relation to this Action, notwithſtanding the ſuppoſed Aſſumption of his Perſon, thereby to apply this Rule of Juſtice, *Quod tibi fieri non vis alteri ne feceris.* And upon the ſame Account I will deceive my Child, by giving him Aloes, wrapt up in Sugar, to Cure him of a Diſeaſe; and cheat him of a thing, that is, or may be noxious to him, with what Artifice I can, and yet without any violation of this Sacred Rule of Juſtice: For had my Child that Underſtanding that I have, though he needed not be cheated, or deceived in this manner; yet he would be contented thus to be deceived for his good, if it were not otherwiſe attainable.

And the reaſon of the difference of theſe caſes from Deceit and Cozenage, in Contracting or Dealing, is becauſe, in the caſes propounded, there is a defect of Underſtanding in the one Party, and the Deceit is for a neceſſary Good to the Party deceived, not otherwiſe attainable. But in the caſe of ordinary Contracts, and Commerce between Perſons it is otherwiſe.

Firſt, Becauſe a Deceit therein ſounds to the damage of the Party deceived, and not to his benefit.

Secondly, Becauſe there is, if not an Expreſs, yet an implyed Agreement, by the common preſumption and cuſtom among Men, that there ſhould be no Deceit in Dealing.

And

And here, by the way, likewiſe, may be conſider'd, the lawfulneſs or unlawfulneſs of Stratagems and Deceits between Enemies, in a ſtate of Publick War and Hoſtility: By a kind of Convention between Enemies in Hoſtility, Force and Violence, Mutual Depredation and Slaughter, ſeem to be allowed, otherwiſe no War could be lawful. And it may ſeem probable, upon the very ſame account, that Stratagems and Deceptions, ſo they arrive not at a plain Lye, may be alſo lawful; Becauſe Perſons in open Hoſtility, ſeem tacitly to have agreed, that each ſhould do to the other all the Miſchief they can, ſo far forth as that Implyed Agreement is not controuled, either by expreſs Pactions, as Truces, Leagues, Safe-Conducts, or the like; or by the common Laws of War, whereby Poyſoning either of Weapons or Rivers is Interdicted. Thus Springing of Mines, Ambuſhes, ſeeming Retreats, or Flights, to draw the Enemy into an Inconvenience; and a Thouſand the like Stratagems of War are, and in all times have been, even by the Law of War, uſed and allowed: Thus *Joſhua* did with the People of *Ai*, *Joſhua* 8. *Gideon* with the *Midianites*, *Judges* 7. *Iſrael* with the *Benjamites*, *Judges* 20. And this ſeems juſtifiable, becauſe in ſuch a time there ſeems to be, as it were, a Reciprocal ſuſpenſion, and laying aſide of thoſe Methods of Mutual Commerce and Intercourſe, that are juſt and requiſite in time of Peace; and another kind of Admiſtration of things, undertaken and allowed on both ſides, each party publickly denouncing and profeſſing to others, that they will uſe all Acts of Force and Stratagem each to other, and that they will expect no other each from other. So that by this Interpretative Compact, each party hath made

that

that lawful in time of War, which is unlawful in time of Peace. And in the practice thereof, one party doth no otherwiſe to the other, than what he Interpretatively agrees and wills the other ſhould do to him; and ſo not wholly out of the extent or direction of this Rule: But yet even in this caſe, there ſeems to be theſe Limitations, *viz.*

1. The Perſon that thus practiſeth theſe Stratagems, or indeed any other Acts of Hoſtility, had need be very well aſſured, that the War it ſelf is lawful and juſt: For that is requiſite to juſtifie any hoſtile Acts of what kind ſoever.

2. That there be no expreſs Lye, for that ſeems not to be juſtifiable in any Hoſtility, and ſeems, even by the very Laws of War it ſelf, to be prohibited.

3. That there be no violation of any *fides data*, and therefore the Act of *Jacob*, *Judges* 4. ſeems very hard in relation to *Siſera*. And that of *Judith*, in relation to *Holofernes*, becauſe they both ſeem to be accompanied with breach of Faith, and the violation of the Laws of Hoſpitality: Nothing can juſtifie the former, but that the *Canaanites* were a People devoted by Almighty God to deſtruction.

4. How far an Enemy may ſollicite a Defection, or Treachery, or may corrupt any of the adverſe Party by Money, or otherwiſe, to betray a Truſt (a thing frequently practiſed in moſt Wars) is too large a Theme, only it renders the Imployment of a Souldier and Statiſt very full of Difficulties.

And

And thus far for the Rule, or Directive Faculty; namely, the Will of the Party, or Agent under a Change or Transposition into the Party Patient.

Fourthly, The Fourth thing propounded is the Extent of this Rule under a Three-fold Relation.

1. To the Thing to be done, or not done.

2. To the Manner of doing it.

3. To the Application of the Rule Negatively and Affirmatively.

1. The Thing to be done or not done. It includeth all Moral Actions, from one Man to another, all Actions of Moral Righteousness or Justice, and Acts of Charity come under the Preceptive Part: All Actions of Moral Injustice or Unrighteousness, or Uncharitableness, come under the Prohibitive part of it.

2. The Manner of the doing comes also under this Rule; for Instance, where an Act of Charity comes under the *(whatever)* as giving of Alms, or remitting of an Injury, I am not only under the Command of doing the thing, because I would have another do so to me, but I am also under the Command of doing it,

First, Chearfully.

Secondly,

Secondly, Speedily.

Thirdly, Sincerely and Cordially, and with Simplicity, Integrity, and Singleneſs of Heart, and not Cunningly, or Dilatorily, or Hypocritically, and for By-ends. Becauſe, were I to receive an Alms, or a Forgiveneſs, I would willingly have it done with theſe Circumſtances, or Qualifications.

3. In relation to the Application. The Rule, as it is preſcribed in the Goſpel, is Affirmative and Preceptive; *Whatſoever ye would that Men ſhould do to you, do ye even ſo.* But this Affirmative Precept implies the Negative, that ſo much Celebrated Rule of Righteouſneſs and Juſtice; *That which ye would not that Men ſhould do to you, do ye not to them:* This Negative Precept includes very much, and goes very far in the direction of us in Moral Righteouſneſs. But the Precept in the Affirmative, as it is given in the Goſpel, is far more Extenſive, and includes a greater meaſure and degree of Chriſtian Perfection; So that the Application of this Precept is,

Firſt, *Negative*; and that Neceſſarily Implyed.

Secondly, *Affirmative.*

I ſhall begin with the Implyed, or Negative Precept; *Quod tibi fieri non vis alteri ne facias:* And this extends to prohibit all thoſe vicious Habits or Acts oppoſite

oppoſite either to Righteouſneſs or Juſtice, or to Charity or Goodneſs: And that upon this very Reaſon, or Indication, I would not have him do, or be thus to me.

And therefore if we ſhould go through all thoſe particular Inſtances above given of the oppoſite Vices to Righteouſneſs or Charity, we ſhall find them all ſuch as we would not have others do to us.

Take it firſt in the Vices or Habits oppoſite to Righteouſneſs. There is no Man in the World that would have another Malicious or Envious to him, that would have another Kill, or Maim, or Wound him, or Rob, Cheat, Deceive, or Oppreſs him, in his Goods, or Eſtate; that would have another corrupt his Wife, Falſly Accuſe, or Traduce him, tell him Lyes or Falſhoods; or that would have another to break his Oath, his Word, his Promiſe, or Faith given to him; or that would have his Children Diſobedient, or his Parents Unreaſonably ſevere; his Servants Unfaithful, or Negligent; his Maſter Tyrannical; that would have his Inferiors Inſolent, or his Superiors Oppreſſive; that would have his Magiſtrate Partial, Unjuſt, or Tyrannical, or his People under him Falſe or Rebellious.

Again, in the Habits of Affections, or Vices oppoſite to Charity, there is no Man would have another Narrow-handed, when he is able to Relieve his Neceſſity; a Rigid Exacter of the Extremity of the Law; Impatient, Proud, or Inſolent in his Carriage towards him; Making himſelf the Center of all he doth; Ingrateful, Rough, and Severe and Surly; Craftily Circumventing him; Moroſe, Cenſorious, Supercilious; ready to cauſe, or entertain

tain false Reports or Surmises; Unpeaceable, Unquiet, and the like. These things are so plain, that there needs no other Evidence of the Truth thereof, than the common Sense and Sentiments of all Mankind, not one excepted: For, though there be many Men that know not, it may be, what the definitions of these Vices are, or that give a clear account wherein the formal Obliquities of them doth consist; yet there is no Man so stupid, that by his own Sense finds not, that he is unwilling to have another use, or practise them upon him, because he is easily and readily sensible of the smart and inconvenience they bring to him; and therefore his Will hath an aversation against them, as noxious and uneasie, and inconvenient to him.

This therefore is the first step, or the first *postulatum*, which every Man, even upon his own Sense, without the help of any other Process, or Inquiry, concludes, that he would not have another do, or use to him, any of those Habits, or Acts, that are thus contrary to Moral Righteousness, or Justice, or Charity.

Secondly, the Second step, or *postulatum*, is what this action is that I am about to do to another, for the matter, or Circumstances of it, consider'd nakedly in it self, without examining whether it be or be not against the Rules of Righteousness or Charity; As for Instance, I do most certainly know, that this action is the taking away of another Man's Goods, wherein I have no property, by the Laws of the Land wherein I live; or it is an Over-reaching of him in a Bargain, and I know it to be so, or the like.

Thirdly, The Third Procedure, after a Man hath conſidered the action what it is; is for a Man to conſider, whether he would that another ſhould do that action to him; and if he would not, he hath thereby given to himſelf the Rule and Meaſure, and Determination of the Queſtion, Whether he ought, or ought not to do it to another, without any curious Inquiry, or Speculation, touching the Juſtice or Injuſtice, Regularity or Irregularity of the action, according to Niceties and School-Diſtinctions. His own Senſe is the Judge: So that as the Eye doth ſee, and diſcern this Colour to be one, and that to be another; this to be White, and that to be Black; or at leaſt diſcerns, this is Grateful, that Harſh, Inſipid, Diſtaſtful, Offenſive, without any Philoſophical, or Logical Argumentation; even ſo a Man may eaſily find that this, if it were done by another to me, would be grievous and offenſive, and diſtaſtful, and in my own Judgment, Uncharitable, or Unjuſt.

And thus, as my own Senſe, without any other Ratiocination, gives me a clear ſatisfaction, touching the general Notion, of what is Unjuſt, or Uncharitable; that it is ſuch as I would not have done to me. So this laſting, as it were, the particular Action that is under Deliberation, gives me a plain and clear eſtimate, even upon the account of my own Senſe and reliſh of it, that it is ſuch an action which I would not have done to me.

And here is the Excellence of this Rule, that whereas, as I before obſerved, the great difficulty in the Regiment of a Moral Life, is not ſo much in the diſcovery and aſſent unto common Notions, as in the due accommodation of particular actions to

theſe

these common Notions, and the true stating of the Moral Rectitude, or Obliquity of particular Actions: This Rule in hand gives us the true and clear Estimate of particular actions, not upon a large Philosophical procedure, or discussive Process, but by the plain, easie, near Evidence, as easie and as obvious as Sense it self: It being no more but this, this is an action which I am very certain I would not have another do to me.

Fourthly, The Consequence and Conclusion, and the Final Decision that is thereupon to be made, is this; I must not therefore do it to him, and I must not do it upon these two accounts.

First, Because the Son of God hath brought from Heaven, and from the Great Monarch of the whole World, unto me, That I must not do that to another, which I would not have another do to me: and if there were no other Obligation upon me, but his Command, it is enough to enjoyn my Observance.

Secondly, If there were no such expres Command given me, yet the very Precept it self includes a most Evident Conviction of an Eternal and indispensable Justice in it: For if I Judge this Action should not be done to me, and that it were Unjust and Unreasonable if it were so done; Why should I go about to do that to him, that I would Condemn as Unjust if done to me?

So that the Resolution of this whole Decision seems to be into this Syllogism.

1. Whatſoever I would not that another ſhould do to me, I may not do to him.

2. But this action now under deliberation, is ſuch, that I would not another ſhould do to me.

3. Therefore I may not do it to him.

The Evidence of the Truth of the *Major* Propoſition is grounded upon the cleareſt Evidence,

Firſt, Of the Divine Command.

Secondly, Of the Intrinſecal Juſtice of the Precept it ſelf.

The Evidence of the *Minor* is the cleareſt Evidence that can be; for I do moſt certainly know what the action is that I am about to do: and again, I do moſt certainly know, that I would not have another do this action to me: I know it as well, as I know that I ſee or feel: And therefore the Concluſion is moſt certain and infallible.

Only we muſt have recourſe to what hath been in general premiſed; where I have ſpoken of the Rule, or (*would*) in general; eſpecially where Perſons are under different Relations.

There ſeem to be two great Obſtacles to the due and conſtant obſervance of this excellent Rule.

1. *Paſſion.*

2. *Self-Love.*

1. *Paſſion*

1. *Paſſion* many times ſo far prevails upon Men, that it makes them precipitate and incogitant in their actions; and thereby this Rule is often broken before Men think of it: But ſurely this is ſuch an Infirmity, that Man may eaſily break by reſolution, to take a due conſideration of what he doth: And if a Man will but inure himſelf a little to repeat this Rule to himſelf, before he undertake any action, he will very eaſily Maſter that Precipitancy and Incogitancy which haſte and paſſion occaſions; and he will ſoon find the benefit of this Experiment.

2. *Self-Love.* Man is very much addicted to Love himſelf; and that Self-love blinds and ſeduceth his Judgment, whereby he oftentimes attributes to himſelf ſuch Circumſtances, as render the very ſame action done by him to another to be Juſt and Righteous; when the very ſame action done by another to him, ſeems to be Unjuſt: For inſtance, *Gaius* hath done *Titius* a Treſpaſs; *Gaius* comes to him, and tells him he is ſorry for it: he is a poor Man, and deſires him to forgive him. *Titius* refuſeth: *Gaius* replies; Sir, Had you done me the like Treſpaſs, and ſought to me, I ſhould have forgiven you, had you been as poor as I am, and I as rich and well able to bear it as you. *Titius* replies, But I have formerly obliged you by many Kindneſſes, and againſt all theſe you have Treſpaſſed in this Treſpaſs. This is not the firſt Treſpaſs you committed; I have paſſed by many formerly: I ſhall grow contemptible, and every one will be ready to do the like, if I paſs by this: Though I am richer than you, I have more Dependants than you, more Children and Relations;

and I muſt bear a port anſwerable to my Place: and the damage that I have ſuſtained by this Treſpaſs, hath made you richer than you were before, and me poorer: and therefore upon theſe, and many other Circumſtances, the Caſes are different; and I muſt have full reparation of the Damage; and alſo ſecure my ſelf againſt future injuries from you and others, by making you a ſevere Example for this. And by ſuch kind of Arguings as this, there will be a fair Gloſs put upon any thing; and the Circumſtances which a Man will draw together, to exempt a Man from his Duty, will be endleſs. But let *Titius* now be but honeſt to himſelf, and ſincerely deal thus with himſelf: I know the Treſpaſs that is committed, the Damage it hath done me, the Condition I am in to bear it, the Poverty of him that cannot make me ſatisfaction: I ſee his Submiſſion: Were I in *Gaius* his ſtead and place, Would I not think it too ſevere for *Titius* to exact the ſeverity of the Law, or to deny a Pardon for this Treſpaſs that he can never ſatisfie. If I ſhould be of that Mind, then I will be of the ſame Mind now, and forgive him upon his Submiſſion, and promiſe of future Amendment. The Truth is, this Precept doth diſcharge Self-love from having to do in this buſineſs of Moral Righteouſneſs or Charity; or at leaſt puts it in that condition, by Tranſpoſition of the Perſons, that it ſpeaks as much for *Gaius* as it doth for *Titius*, when *Titius*, by Tranſpoſition, ſuſtains the Perſon of *Gaius*; and ſo Self-love becomes equally an Advocate for *Titius*, and againſt him.

Indeed, if a Man will be wilfully and perverſly Unjuſt; and although he be Convinced, that he would

would not have the ſame thing done to him, that he is about to do to another; will, notwithſtanding that Conviction, do the thing; there is nothing to be ſaid to ſuch a Man, but that he hath rejected his Duty to God, and the common Sentiments of Righteouſneſs and Goodneſs to Mankind. But certainly he that deſires to walk according to the true Rules of Juſtice and Charity, hath, if he will be but ſincere and true to himſelf in this Rule of our Saviours, a plain, eaſie, and clear direction for all actions of Righteouſneſs and Charity.

A DISCOURSE OF RELIGION.

CHAP. I.

The Ends and Uses of it, and the Errors of Men touching it.

TRUE Religion is the greateſt *Improvement*, *Advantage*, and *Privilege* of *Humane Nature*; and that which gives it the nobleſt and higheſt Pre-eminence above other viſible Creatures.

We may obſerve in many Brute Beaſts and Birds admirable Inſtincts, Dexterities, and Sagacities; and in ſome of them ſome dark reſemblances of Reaſon, or Ratiocination: But *Religion* is ſo *appropriate* to the *Humane Nature*, that there are ſcarce any ſort of men, but have *ſome Religion:* Nor do the moſt ſubtle or ſagacious Brutes afford any ſigns thereof, as communicated to their Natures.

I.

It is one of the chiefeſt Mercies and Bleſſings that Almighty God hath afforded to the Children of Men, and that which ſignally manifeſts his Providential Care towards and over them, that in all Ages and among all Nations he hath given to them *ſome Means* and *Helps* to diſcover unto them, though in different Degrees, ſome principal Sentiments of true Religion: 1. By the ſecret Characters, and *Impreſſions*, and Structures thereof in their Minds and *Conſciences*. 2. By his *Glorious* and admirable *Works*, commonly called the *Works of Nature*. 3. By ſignal *Providences*, and *Providential Regiment* of the World. 4. By raiſing up *Men* in all Ages of *great Wiſdom*, *Obſervation*, and *Learning*, which did inſtruct the more Ignorant in this great Concernment, the Rudiments of Natural Religion. 5. By *Traditionary* Tranſmiſſion of many important Truths and Directions of Life, from Anceſtors to their Poſterity, and others: Though in proceſs of time, evil Cuſtoms and evil Men did in a great meaſure impair and corrupt the Sentiments and Practices of Men, notwithſtanding theſe helps. Therefore the ſame Mercy and Goodneſs of God, for the Preſervation and propagation of the true Religion, was pleaſed to ſubſtitute a more fixed and permanent means: Namely, the *Holy Scriptures*, or *Divine Revelations* committed to Writing in the Books of the Old and New Teſtament. Though the Religion delivered in both Teſtaments, be in ſubſtance the ſame; yet the true Religion was more fully, and plainly, and diſtinctly delivered by Chriſt and his Apoſtles in the New Teſtament, together alſo with ſome additional Inſtructions for the better preſervation and propagation thereof to Mankind, and divers additional Evidences to prove and manifeſt

nifest the truth of this Religion, to procure its belief and acceptation: As the *Birth*, *Miracles*, *Death*, *Resurrection*, and *Ascension* of Christ Jesus, the great Reformer of the *Jewish*, and great Institutor of the Christian Religion, so called from Christ that taught and asserted it. The Christian Religion is the most perfect Rule of our Duty to God, our selves, and others; and was design'd principally for these Great Ends.

1. To *restore* to the Glorious *God*, the *Honour*, *Duty*, and *Obedience* of his Creature, Man; teaching him to Know, to Glorifie and Serve his Creator, to be thankful to him, to submit to his Will, to obey his Law and Command, to be thankful for his Mercies, to acknowledge him in all his ways, to call upon him, to Worship him, to depend upon him, to walk sincerely in his sight, to admire and adore his Greatness and Goodness in all his Works, especially in the great Work of the Redemption of Mankind by his Son Christ Jesus.

2. To inable *Man* to attain *everlasting Happiness*, the perpetual Vision of the Glorious God, and to fit and prepare him to be a partaker of the Inheritance of the Saints in Light and Glory.

3. To compose and settle *Mankind* in such a decent and becoming Rectitude, Order, and Deportment in this World, as may be suitable to the Existence of a Reasonable Nature, and the Good of Mankind: Which consists principally in a double relation: 1. To a *Mans self*, *Sobriety*. 2. To *others*, which consists in those two great Habits or Dispositions beneficent to Mankind, *viz. Righteousness* or *Justice*, and *Charity* or *Love* and *Beneficence*.

These three great Ends are succinctly delivered, 2 *Tit.* 11. 12. For *the Grace of God, that bringeth Salvation*

Salvation hath appeared unto all Men, teaching us, that denying ungodlineſs and worldly Luſts, we ſhould live Soberly, Righteouſly, and Godly in this preſent World. Here we have theſe three Ends of Chriſtian Religion. 1. *Godlineſs*, or our Duty to God. 2. Salvation, or our own everlaſting Happineſs. 3. *Sobriety, Righteouſneſs*, which alſo includeth *Charity*, a part of Evangelical Righteouſneſs.

And becauſe Chriſtian Religion was intended and inſtituted for the good of Mankind, whether poor or rich, Learned or Unlearned, Simple or Prudent, Wiſe or Weak, it was fitted with ſuch *plain, eaſie*, and *evident* Directions, both for things to be *known*, and things to be *done*, in order to the attainment of the End for which it was deſign'd, that might be underſtood by any Capacity, that had the ordinary and common uſe of Reaſon or Humane Underſtanding, and by the common aſſiſtance of the Divine Grace might be practiſed by them.

The *Credenda*, or things to be known and believed, as ſimply neceſſary to thoſe Ends, are but few, and intelligble, briefly delivered in that Summary of Chriſtian Religion, uſually called the *Apoſtles Creed*.

The *Agenda*, or things to be *done* or *forborn*, are thoſe few and excellent Precepts, delivered by Chriſt and his Apoſtles, in that *little Book* of the *New Teſtament*, and yet even the tenth part of that little Book will contain all the Precepts of Chriſtian Duty and Obedience contained in that Book: And in brief the *Baptiſmal Covenant*, as it is contained in the Liturgy, and Explanation thereof in the Church Catechiſm uſed among us, together with the Precepts of the Decalogue, contain in effect a Summary or brief Epitome of our Chriſtian Duty.

And

And certainly it was necessary and becoming the Wisdom of the most Wise God, that that Religion and Doctrine, which equally concerned Men of all Kinds and Capacities, should be accordingly accommodated, as might be useful for all. If the Doctrine or Precepts of Christian Religion should have been delivered in over Sublime or Seraphical expressions, in high Rhetorical Raptures, in intricate and subtile Phrases or Stile, or if it should have been surcharged with multitude of particulars, it would have been like a Sealed Book, to the far greatest part of Mankind, who yet were equally concerned in the Business and End of Religion, with the greatest Philosophers and Clerks in the World.

Upon what hath been said, we may therefore Conclude,

1. That there is not, nor indeed may not be any great difficulty in the attaining of a *true saving Knowledge* of Christian Religion.

2. That the Duties of Christian Religion are not of so vast an Extent, but the Knowledge of them may be also attained by an Ordinary Capacity, *willing to learn.*

3. That considering that God Almighty is never wanting with his Grace to assist those that sincerely endeavour and desire to Obey him and Serve him, it is not so difficult a Business to perform an Evangelical Obedience to the Precepts of the Gospel, I say an *Evangelical Obedience*, though not a *Perfect Obedience*; an Obedience that is *Sincere*, though many times *Weak*, and failing, which nevertheless are forgiven, and there Sincere though Imperfect Obedience accepted by Almighty God through the Merits and Intercession of Christ, and our own Hu-

Humiliation and Sincere Repentance for our failings.

And, 4. That when all is done, in *this Belief* and *this Obedience* Conſiſts our *Chriſtian Religion.* This is the One *thing neceſſary*, the *Magnum Oportet*, which is of higheſt Concernment and greateſt Importance to Mankind.

But now if we do but look about us in the World, and obſerve and conſider the Matters, wherein Men for the *moſt part*, do place *Religion*, we ſhall find quite another kind of *Rate* and *Nature* of *Religion*, than what Chriſt Inſtituted or Intended, and yet all veiled and ſhrouded under the Name of *Chriſtian Religion*; and greater weight and ſtreſs laid upon them than upon the *True*, *Real*, *grand Imports* of *Chriſtian Religion.*

I. I ſhall begin with the Subtilties of great Scholars, Schoolmen, and Scholaſtick Divines. Theſe have turned *Chriſtian Religion* into a moſt curious and difficult Speculation, and that which was deſign'd by Chriſt Jeſus as a plain Direction to every Capacity, to be a Guide to a Righteous, Holy, and Sober Life here, and to attain Everlaſting Life hereafter, they have [made] a meer *Exerciſe of* Wit, and a *Piece of greater ſubtilty* than the abſtruſeſt Philoſophy or Metaphyſicks. And this they have done principally theſe ways.

1. By *Diſputes* about Queſtions, that as they are not in themſelves *Neceſſary* to be known, ſo they are in their own Nature impoſſible for Humane Underſtandings to determine: As for inſtance; many, if not all, the Points controverted between the *Arminians* and *Calviniſts*, as touching the *manner of the Decrees of God*, what kind of *Influence* he hath *upon the Wills of Men.* The *manner of* the *Divine*

Divine Knowledge of things Future, Contingent, or *Possible.* The *Resistibility* or *Irresistibility* of Divine *Grace.* The *Nature of Eternity,* and *Infinitude,* and *Indivisibility.* The *manner* of the *Existence* of the *Three Persons* in the *Unity* of *Essence.* The *Nature of Angels* and *Spirits*; the *Manner* and *Degrees,* and *Method* of their *Knowledge of things*; their several *Ranks* and *Orders*; and infinite more Speculations and Disputes of things that do not in their own Nature fall under the discovery of Humane Understanding, by the ordinary Course of Ratiocination, and are impossible to be known further than they are distinctly revealed by Almighty God, and as it were industriously kept Secret by Almighty God, because they are not of use to Mankind to be known. It is far more possible for a Child of three Years Old, to have a true Conception of the most abstruse Points in Philosophy, or in the Mystical Reasons of State or Politick Government of a Kingdom, than for the wisest Man that ever was, without Revelation from God, to have any tolerable Conception or Notion of things of this Nature, with any tolerable Certainty or Evidence.

2. Again there are other Points disputed which are of a *lower* allay, and yet not to be distinctly known without more *clear Revelation* than we yet have of it, nor yet of any *Necessity* for us *distinctly* to know: As for instance, concerning the *Nature and Manner* of *Transmission of Original Sin*; *How far* the Sins of *immediate or remote Parents* affect their *Posterity* with *Guilt or Punishment*; The *Origination* of the *Humane Soul*; How far the Efficacy of the *Sacrifice of Christ was intentionally for all Men*; concerning the *Means of Communication thereof to Infants, Ideots, and the invincibly Ignorant*; What is the *real Consequence of*

Baptism

Baptism of Infants, or its *Omission*; How far the *Will of Man* is *Operative* to his *Conversion*, or *Perseverance*; Wherein the *formal* Nature of *Justification* consists; How far forth *Faith singly* is sufficient for it, without *Sanctification* and *Habitual Holiness* at last, and how far forth the *Sincere Love of God*, by a Person invincibly ignorant of many or most Points of *Christian Religion* is *sufficient* thereunto; concerning the *Estate of the separate Soul* before the *last Judgment*, and how far it enjoys the *Beatifical Vision* before the *Resurrection*.

Disputes touching these and the like difficult Questions, have blown up mens Fancies with Speculations, instead of filling their Hearts with the true and genuine Effects of *Christian Religion*.

It is true, that Physicians and Naturalists do and may make Enquiries into the Method and Progress of *Generation*, and *Digestion*, and *Sanguification*, and the motions of the *Chile*, the *Blood*, the *Humours*: For, 1. They have means of access to the discovery thereof by Dissection and Observation. And, 2. It is of some use to them in their Science, and the Exercise thereof. But when all is done, a *Man* of a sound Constitution digests his *Meat*, and his Blood Circulates, and his several Vessels and Entrails perform their Offices, though he know not distinctly the Methods of their Motions and Operations. But these Speculations above mention'd, in Points of Divinity, as they are not possible to be distinctly determined with any certainty, so they are of little use to be known.

If the Heart be season'd with the true Knowledge of the things that are revealed, and with the Life of the *Christian Religion*, and the Love of God, it will be effectual enough to order his Life, and bring

bring him to everlasting Happiness, though he be not, like an exquisite Anatomist, acquainted with a distinct Comprehension or Knowledge of the several difficult Enquiries of this Nature. Believe what is required by the Word of God to be believed, and do your Duty, as by that Word is directed; so that the Life of *Religion*, and the Love of God be once set on foot in the Soul, and there nourished, and commit your self to the Faithfulness and Goodness of God, and this will be effectual to the great End of *Religion*, though all these Disputes be laid aside.

3. Again, A Third mischief of *Scholasticks*, is in relation to *Practicks*: 1. Some *Casuistical Divines* have so distinguished concerning Religious External Duties, that they have left little *Practical Religion* or Morality in the World, and by their subtil curious Distinctions, have made almost every thing Lawful, and with the *Pharisees*, in the time of our Saviour, have made void the Laws of God, (and of Man also) by their Traditions and Distinctions: So that Religion towards God, and all Righteousness and Sobriety, is so thin and narrow, and subtil, that by their Doctrine of *Probability*, and *Casuistical Distinctions*, all the Bones thereof are loosned. It would be too long to give Instances in particular: The late Velitations in *France* between some of the Popish Priests and Jesuits furnish the World with Instances enough of this kind.

II. The Second Instance is this, *The turning of the greatest part of Religion into Politick Contrivances*, for attaining or upholding *Power*, *Wealth*, or *Interest*.

There

There have been Instances many in this kind among Secular Princes and States, this was the Act of *Jeroboam* to set up Idolatrous Religion in *Samaria*, for preventing a return of the Ten Tribes to the House of *David*. And we may observe it in most of the Religion Established by Heathenish Princes, which was so ordered to accommodate their Interest, though to the extreme corrupting of Natural Religion.

But there is not so eminent an Instance thereof in the whole World, as that of the *Ecclesiastical State of the Church of Rome*, who have corrupted, as much as in them lies, the most pure and innocent Religion that ever the World knew, namely, the Christian Religion, by distorting it to Ends of *Wealth* and *Power*, appendicating to it certain new *Doctrines* and *Practices* meerly to those Ends. And not only so, but have laid the greatest *weight* of *Religion* in the Observation of these *Political Appendications*; so that a Man that either questions or not observes the *Political Additaments*, runs as severe a Censure and Danger among them, as he that denies the most unquestionable Principles of Christian Religion. Such are their Doctrines of the *Popes Supremacy*, the *Popes Infallibility*, the *necessity to Salvation* to be of the *Romish Church*; the *Adoration* of Images, Saints *departed*, and *Angels*; the *Veneration* of Reliques; the Doctrine of *Purgatory*, *Indulgences*, and the *Church Treasury of redundant Merits*; the Doctrine and Practice of *Dispensations* and *Indulgences*; their *Canonization* of *Saints*; their *Pilgrimages*, *numerous Ceremonies*, *Theatrical Spectacles*; their Doctrine of *Transubstantiation*, and divers other Superadditions and Appendications to Christian Religion, which any person, not captivated

by them, may with half an Eye perceive to be invented and continued meerly for the support of the Grandeur of an Universal Monarchy, which they miscall *The Church*, and for the amassing of *Wealth* and *Power* for the support of it, as might most easily be evinced by the particular Examination of all those Politick Appendixes.

And yet let any man observe it, he shall find as great fervour for the upholding of these Doctrines and Practices, and as great a *jealousie* of the least breach made upon them, as if the whole Concern of Christian Religion, and the Salvation of Souls lay in their Belief and Observance.

III. The third Instance is in relation to the *Forms* of *Church Government* and *Ceremonies*. That *Ecclesiastical Government* is necessary for the preservation of Religion, is evident to any reasonable and considerate man: And that the *Episcopal* Government constituted in *England*, is a most excellent Form of Ecclesiastical Government, and exceeds all other Forms of Ecclesiastical Government. may be easily evinced; and that it is the best adapted to the Civil Government in this Kingdom, is visible to any intelligent person: And yet I do not think that the Essence of Christian Religion Consists in *this* or any *other particular Form of Government*. It is a great help to the preservation of it in its Purity and Unity, and may be well called *Sepimentum Religionis Christianæ*, as the *Jews* call their Oral Traditions *Sepimentum Legis*, the Fence of the Law. But a man may be a *good and excellent Christian* under *this* or any *other Form* of Ecclesiastical Government, nay in such places where possibly there is no settled Form of Ecclesiastical Government established.

But

But if we obſerve many perſons in the World, we ſhall find ſome ſo highly devoted to *this or that* particular *Form of Government*, as if all *the weight* of Chriſtian Religion lay in it: Though the wiſe and ſober ſort of Conformiſts know and profeſs this, yet there be ſome raſh people that will preſently Un-church all the Reformed Churches beyond the Seas which are not under *Epiſcopal Government*. That if they ſee a man, otherwiſe of *Orthodox Principles*, of a *Pious* and *Religious* Life, yet if *ſcrupling ſome Points* of *Eccleſiaſtical Government*, though peaceable, they will eſteem him little better than a *Heathen or Publican*, a *Schiſmatick*, *Heretick*, and what not: On the other ſide, if they ſee a man of great fervour in aſſerting the *Eccleſiaſtical Government*, obſervant of *External Ceremonies*, though otherwiſe of a *looſe and diſſolute life*, yet they will be ready to applaud him with the ſtile of a *Son of the Church*, and upon that account over-look the Miſcarriages of his Life, as if the Eſſence and Life of Chriſtian Religion lay in the bare aſſerting of the Form of Eccleſiaſtical Government.

On the other ſide, there is as great an Extremity of the other hand: There are many indiſcreet perſons, as well Divines as others, that having either by their *Education*, or by *Converſation* with Diſſenters, or poſſibly to gain a Party, taken upon them the Patronage or Aſſerting of ſome other Form of Church Government, either *Preſbyterian* or *Independant*, or ſomething fram'd by their own invention, preſently cry down the Eſtabliſhed Government of the Church, as Antichriſtian or Popiſh, and cry up that which they have thus eſpouſed as the only true Chriſtian Regiment inſtituted by Chriſt; and preſently among them, and their

Followers, this is made the diſcriminative Mark of a True Chriſtian. If they ſee a man conformable to the Eſtabliſhed Government, tho' he be pious, ſober, and truly Religious, yet they deſpiſe and neglect him, cenſure him as a Formaliſt, and without the Power of Godlineſs: But if a man will but *revile* the Eſtabliſhed Government, and be *bold* againſt it, cry it down, and cry up the New Inſtitution into which they are liſted, tho' the man be Covetous, Uncharitable, Hard-harted, Proud, Impetuous, and poſſibly otherwiſe Looſe in his Converſation, yet ſuch a man ſhall be cheriſhed, applauded, and cryed up for a Saint, a Precious man, and Zealous for the Truth.

And although *Decent Ceremonies*, that are for the Preſervation of the Dignity of Religion, and to keep due Order and Regularity, are not Eſſential Parts of Chriſtianity, nor were ever ſo eſteemed by wiſe and ſober men, and yet are of uſe and convenience in the Church, nevertheleſs, we may eaſily obſerve among men the ſame Extremes as are before noted: Some placing the whole *weight* of Religion in their *ſtrict Obſervance*, and making them the *principal*, if not the *only Badge of a Son of the Church*; *hating* and *deſpiſing* thoſe that *ſcruple any thing* in them, or that do not come up in *every punctilio* to their Obſervance, though they be otherwiſe *ſound* in the Principles of Faith, *pious* and *ſtrict* in their lives, *juſt* and *honeſt* to all men, and ſober, temperate and blameleſs.

On the other ſide, there be a ſort of men that place the greateſt ſtreſs and diſcriminating Point of Chriſtian Religion in *oppoſing* and *decrying* all *Inſtituted Ceremonies*, though *Innocent*, *Decent*, and without any the leaſt touch of Superſtition in them, yet

theſe muſt be decried as Popiſh, Antichriſtian, deſtructive of Chriſtian Liberty, and the Party that with moſt boldneſs and vehemence declaims againſt them, is valued by them as a moſt precious man, a man of Zeal and Courage, and needs little elſe to juſtifie and magnifie him with his Party.

On the other ſide, though a man be of an holy and conſcientious Life, ſound in Principles, ſober, blameleſs, peaceable; yet if he obſerve theſe blameleſs Ceremonies, though with great moderation and Charity to Diſſenters, he ſhall be ſlighted and undervalued, eſteemed a Formaliſt, a Time-ſerver, or at beſt, a man wanting Courage. Zeal, Lukewarm, Timorous, and wanting the Power of Godlineſs. Such wild and wrong Meaſures do men of Extremes on all hands take of the true Eſſence and Ends of Chriſtianity.

IV. Again, even among Profeſſors of the Proteſtant Religion, there are divers diſputed and Controverted Points; as between the *Calviniſts* and *Arminians*, eſpecially touching the *Univerſality* of the *Redemption* by Chriſt, *Perſeverance* and *Falling from Grace*, and almoſt every day there ariſe certain *new Opinions*, ſome of *greater* importance, but very commonly of *ſmall* and inconſiderable moment; and theſe are taken up by the ſeveral Parties poſſibly agreeing in the ſame Fundamentals of Chriſtian Religion. And ſometimes they are entertained by a Party of men, becauſe their Paſtors are of that Opinion, or ſeem to be ſo; though often they are taken up, or inſtilled into a Party, to make a diſcriminative Mark between Perſons of ſeveral Congregations. And then it is wonderful to ſee with what fervour each Party maintains his Tenent, and as great weight is laid upon it, as if the whole ſtreſs

of Christian Religion, and the Salvation of the Souls of men lay upon it; when God knows they are not of any moment in it.

Such was the old Controversie between the *Eastern* and *Western* Churches about *Easter-day*, and ancienter than that, in the Apostles times, about *Eating of Meats offered to Idols*, and among us at this day touching the five *Arminian* Questions. And yet we shall see men as fervent and zealous about them, as censorious of Dissenters from them, as fond of those of the same Opinion with them, as if all the Articles of the Christian Faith were immediately concerned in them; when all the while they are not of any moment to the Salvation of men, nor of any concernment to the Christian Religion, or the Ends thereof, but are only Artifices imposed upon men to hold up Parties, or to keep up some Man or Parties Reputation; imaginations which men are fond of, because they are their own, at least theirs whom they have in great Veneration or esteem.

V. Again, the fond Mistakes of men in this kind, are observable in very slight and trivial matters, which yet are entertained with a kind of Religious Veneration, when they serve to hold up Parties, or as discriminations of their Professions. Among the professed *Monks* and *Fryars* they have certain Habits assigned to several Orders, and as well anciently as now have several kinds of *Tonsures* of their Heads, which they observe with great severity; and place much Religion in them.

And even among the various Sects, or Perswasions among those that least abhor Popery, yet we shall find some such *fond things* upon which they lay a great weight of their Religion: Sometimes in very *Looks* and composing of their Countenance; some-

ſometimes in the manner or Tone of Expreſſions; ſometimes in *affected Phraſes*; ſometimes in *Geſtures*; ſometimes in *Habits* and *Dreſſes*; ſometimes in uſe of *Meats* and *Drinks* of one kind or other. I ſhall give ſome few Inſtances.

You ſhall have ſome that place a great point of Religion in forbearing the *Eating of Fleſh upon Fridays*, or in the time of *Lent*, but yet indulge themſelves oftentimes in the eating of the choiceſt Fiſh, and the moſt coſtly Diet of other Meats: Others again think they muſt needs go as far on the other Extreme, Chuſing thoſe Seaſons for Feaſting upon Fleſh, and think it acceptable to God, becauſe it runs counter to the other Extreme.

Again, a time there was when it was thought that *Long Hair* was unbecoming Profeſſors of Chriſtianity, and upon that account ſome did wear their *Hair* ſhort, even to extremity. But about the beginning of the late Wars, many took up, as they thought, a more elevated way of Chriſtianity, and as a Badge thereof wore their Hair Extreme Long.

The Conformiſts uſually wear Gowns or Canonical Coats: Many of the Nonconformiſts by way of diſcrimination uſe other Habits.

The *former* officiate, as the Canons require them, in Surplices, and ſometimes with Hoods, and ſome are ſo taken with it, that they think the Offices want an Eſſential Part when performed without it; ſome of the *latter* think the ſolemn Ordinances are profaned by it, and rendred Superſtitious.

But among all the differing Perſwaſions among us, there are none that give a man more ample Evidence of Miſtakes of this Nature, than thoſe called *Quakers*, who place a great part of their

Religion in keeping on their Hats, in uſing the words *Thee* and *Thou*, in ſtiling the Months and Days of the Week not according to the uſual Appellation, but the firſt, or ſecond Month, or Day, in certain Habits and Poſtures unlike other men; in Silent Devotions at their Publick Meetings, in *reviling* and *crying down* the Eſtabliſhed Miniſtery, Churches, Sacraments, *Lords-day*, and all manner of Forms, whether commanded or uſed by others; in refuſing to take an Oath when Lawfully called thereunto; and ſome ſuch other ſingularities. Take away but theſe, and the like affected Superadditions, the men are as other men, ſome indeed very ſober, honeſt, juſt and plain-hearted men, and ſound in moſt, if not all the important Doctrines and Practices of Chriſtianity; others (as it happens in all Profeſſions) Subtile, Covetous, Uncharitable, Tumultuous, Ignorant, Proud, Deſpiſers of others, Slanderers, and yet as long as they conform to their *Sect* in theſe impertinent or unwarrantable ſingularities, they pleaſe themſelves with the Stile of the *People of God*, and are for the moſt part eſteemed ſuch by thoſe of that Sect.

By this little Survey, we may eaſily take an eſtimate of the Miſtakes of Mankind, and even among Chriſtians, touching the Miſtakes in point of Chriſtianity and Chriſtian Religion, and how common it is to miſplace the *Name* of Chriſtian Religion and the *Nature* of it, and attribute it to ſuch things as in truth have nothing to do with it, but many times are directly contrary to it.

And yet even in theſe Impertinencies many men place the greateſt moment of their Religion, and have as great and many times a greater zeal and fervour for them, than for the weighty Points and

and Duties of Christianity, and most of the business of many men Consists in Velitations and Defences and Invectives about them; the Pulpits and the Press is engaged about them. Love, and Charity, and even common Humanity, and mutual Conversation between Man and Man, Church and Church, Party and Party, is broken by the mutual collisions and animosities concerning them. So that (the Lord be merciful to us and forgive us) there is as little Love, and as great distance and animosity between many of the Dissenting Parties among Protestants, touching these matters, as there is between Papists and Protestants, or between Christians and Infidels. And by this means the true Life of Christian Religion, and that which was the great End of its Institution, and the true genuine and natural Effect of it upon the heart and soul, and course of Life, is lost or neglected by them that profess it, or disparaged among those that either have not entertained it, or at least entertained it as they do the Customs of the Country wherein they are Educated. These men, when they see so much Religion placed by Professors of Christianity in these things, which every intelligent man values but as Forms, or Inventions, or Modes, or Artifices, and yet as great weight laid upon them, as great fervour and animosity used for, or against them, as almost for any Points of Christian Religion, they are presently apt to censure and throw off all Religion, and reckon all of the same make.

But when all is done, true Christian Religion is a thing of another kind of make, and is of another kind of Efficacy, and directed unto, and effective of a nobler End, than those things about which, as above is said, men so much contend, and that

makes

makes ſo great a buſtle and noiſe in the World. As the *Credenda* are but few and plain, ſo the *Facienda*, or things to be done, are ſuch as do truly ennoble and advance the Humane Nature, and bring it to its due habitude, both to God and Man.

It teacheth and tutors the Soul to a high reverence and veneration of Almighty God, a ſincere and upright walking as in the preſence of the Inviſible, All-ſeeing God: It makes a man truly to love, to honour, to obey him, and therefore careful to know what his will is; it renders the heart highly thankful to him, both as his Creator, Redeemer, and Benefactor: It makes a man entirely to depend upon him, to ſeek to him for guidance, and direction, and protection; to ſubmit to his Will with all Patience, and Reſignation of Soul: It gives the Law not only to his Words and Actions, but to his very Thoughts and Purpoſes, that he dares not entertain a very thought unbecoming the ſight and Preſence of that God to whom all our thoughts are legible: It teacheth and bringeth a man to ſuch a deportment both of external and internal ſobriety, as may be decent in the preſence of God and all his holy Angels: It cruſheth and Caſts down all Pride and Haughtineſs both in a mans Heart and Carriage, and gives him an humble frame of Soul and Life, both in the ſight of God and Men: It regulates and governs the Paſſions of the Mind, and brings them into due moderation and frame: It gives a man a right eſtimate of this preſent World, and ſets his heart and hopes above it, ſo that he never loves it more than it deſerves: It makes the Wealth and Glory of this World, high places, and great Preferments, but

of

of a low and little value to him; ſo that he is neither coverous nor ambitious, nor over-ſollicitous concerning the advantages of it: It brings a man to that frame that Righteouſneſs, Juſtice, Honeſty, and Fidelity is as it were part of his Nature; he can ſooner die then commit or purpoſe that which is unjuſt, diſhoneſt, or unworthy a good man: It makes him value the Love of God and Peace of Conſcience above all the Wealth and Honours in the World, and be very vigilant to keep it inviolably: Though he be under a due apprehenſion of the Love of God to him, yet it keeps him humble and watchful, and free from all preſumption, ſo that he dares not under a vain confidence of the Indulgence, and Mercy, and Favour of God, turn aſide to commit or purpoſe even the leaſt injury to man; he performs all his Duties to God in ſincerity, and integrity, and conſtancy; and while he lives on Earth, yet his Converſation, his Hopes, his Treaſure, and the flower of his Expectation is in Heaven, and he entirely endeavours to Walk ſutably to ſuch a Hope: In ſumm, it reſtores the Image of God unto the Soul in Righteouſneſs and true Holineſs.

Compoſitum jus, faſque animi, ſanctoſque receſſus
mentis, & incoctum generoſo pectus honeſto.

Theſe, and the like to theſe, are the ends, deſign and effect of True Chriſtian Religion, truly received and digeſted in the Soul. And certainly any man that duly conſidereth, will find that they are of another kind of Nature and Value, than thoſe ſublime Speculations, Politick Conſtitutions, Forms or not Forms, affected Singularities, upon which

which many lay the weight of Religion and for and touching which there is ſo much Contention and Animoſity in the World. So that methinks men in this regard are like to a Company of fooliſh Boys, who when the Nut is broken, run ſcrambling after the pieces of the Shell, and in the mean while the Kernel is neglected and loſt.

Now touching the Reaſons or Cauſes of theſe Miſapprehenſions touching Religion, they are various: Some deſerve compaſſion, and others are more or leſs excuſable, according to their ſeveral kinds: 1. Some perſons truly Conſcientious and Zealous of any thing that they judge to be diſpleaſing to God, as not agreeable to his Will, and obſerving the many Corruptions, that the *Romiſh* Church have brought into the Worſhip of God, are very ſuſpicious of any thing that may look, as they think, that way; and therefore, though they are otherwiſe men of ſound and Orthodox Principles, and of a truly righteous, ſober, and pious Life, yet perchance are tranſported ſomewhat too far in ſcrupling or oppoſing ſome Ceremonies or Forms; And poſſibly their Education and Converſation with men of ſuch Perſwaſions have confirmed them in it, ſo that they do not oppoſe out of a frowardneſs or peeviſhneſs of mind, or out of Pride, or a Spirit of Oppoſition, but in the ſincerity and ſimplicity of their hearts, and out of a tenderneſs for the Honour of God. Theſe, though they are or may be miſtaken in their Perſwaſions, yet certainly *deſerve Compaſſion*, *Tenderneſs*, yea and *Love* alſo, much rather than *Severity* or *Contempt*.

2. Others

2. Others again, obſerving that certain Modes and Forms, and the rigorous Obſervations of them, are the common road for *attaining Preferments* or Favours of great Perſons, upon that account exerciſe a marvellous fervour of mind for them, and a vigorous oppoſition of all that come not up to them in every punctilio, that they may thereby be taken notice of, and imployed as uſeful and fit and vigorous Aſſertors and Inſtruments for this purpoſe.

3. Many times *Gain* and *Profit* is the End and Deſign of many Practices and Poſitions appendicated to Chriſtian Religion, as is before obſerved in the *Romiſh Church*; and it is eaſily obſervable that Intereſt, Profit, and Temporal Advantage have a ſtrong byaſs upon Mens Affections, and are dearer to them than the Truth of Religion, and carry men more vigorouſly in their upholding and maintenance, than Religion it ſelf doth: And becauſe the pretence of zeal for Religion carries a fair Plauſibility with all men, therefore thoſe very things that are but *Engines* of *Gain* and *Profit* are Chriſtened with the ſpecious Name of *Religion.*

It was the making of Silver Shrines for *Diana*, the Art whereby the Artificers got their living, that made the Out-cry, *Great is Diana of the Epheſians.*

4. Again, it is very certain that Mankind hath a huge *kindneſs* and *partiality* for matters of their *own Invention*, and ſet a greater rate upon them, than upon other matters handed over to them by others: And hence it comes to paſs that a new Fancy or Opinion, a new Form of Worſhip, Diſcipline, or Government, that any man hath invented or ſtudied out, is to ſuch a man ordinarily of greater

value

value and moment than it deserves, and shall be maintained with greater Zeal, Fervour and Animosity, than Points of greater truth and moment, as if the great moment and weight of Religion and Christianity lay in it, which is in truth nothing else but the Effect of Self-love and Self-conceit.

5. Again, though by Nature man be a sociable Creature, yet there is in most men a certain Itch of Pride, which makes them affect a *Discrimination from others*, and to become a kind of *separated Party* more refined than the rest of the same Common Profession.

I do remember in the beginning of our late *Troubles*, the *only Party* that *visibly appeared*, were *some* that *desired some Reformation in Church-matters*: And when that Party had obtained, under the Name of the *Presbyterian Party*, in a very little while there arose a more sublime Party of men, called the Independent or Congregational men, which much despised the former, as not arrived to a just Measure of Reformation. Shortly after that, there arose a kind of *Lay Party* which as much undervalued the Independent, and indeed the Ministery in general.

After that, there arose a Party Discriminating it self from all the former, *viz.* the *Quakers*. These various Parties were as so many Sub-divisions and Rectifications of what went before,

Now the means of holding up this *Discrimination* of *Parties* are certain *select Opinions*, *Practices*, or *Modes*, which are like the *Badges* or Colours that give each Party its Denomination, Distinction, and Discrimination: And consequently these Discriminative Badges have as great a rate set upon them as each Sect sets upon it self; and therefore must

must be upheld under the very Notion of the life of Religion, and must be maintained with the greatest fervour imaginable; for otherwise the Distinction of the Sects themselves would fall to the ground, and become contemptible both among themselves and others, because otherwise there would appear very little and inconsiderable reason, upon trifling or small reasons, to Separate and Divide from others, and to Un-Church and Un-Christian them that are not of their Company or Society.

CHAP. II.

The Life of Religion, and Superadditions to it.

THE Truth and Spirit of Religion comes in a narrow compass, though the Effect and Operation thereof are large and diffusive. *Solomon* comprehended it in a few words, *Fear God, and keep his Commandments, for this is the whole Duty of Man:* The Soul and life of Religion is the Fear of God, which is the Principle of Obedience; but Obedience to his Commands, which is an Act or exercise of that life, is various, according to the variety of the Commands of God: If I take a Kernel of an Acorn, the Principle of life lies in it: The thing it self is but small, but the Vegetable Principle that lies in it takes up a less room than the Kernel it self, little more than the quantity of a small Pins head, as is easie to be observed by Experiment, but the exercise of that Spark of life is large and comprehensive in its Operation; it produceth a great Tree, and in that Tree the Sap, the

the Body, the Bark, the Limbs, the Leaves, the Fruit; and ſo it is with the Principle of True Religion, the Principle it ſelf lies in a narrow compaſs, but the activity and energy of it is diffuſive and various.

This Principle hath not only Productions that naturally flow from it, but where it is it ferments and aſſimulates, and gives a kind of Tincture even to other Actions that do not in their own Nature follow from it, as the Nature and Civil Actions of our Lives under the former was our Lords Parable of a Grain of Muſtard, under the latter of his Compariſon of Leaven, juſt as we ſee in other things of Nature: Take a little Red Wine, and drop it into a Veſſel of Water, it gives a new Tincture to the Water; or take a grain of Salt and put it into freſh Liquor, it doth communicate it ſelf to the next adjacent part of the Liquor, and that again to the next, until the whole be fermented: So that ſmall and little vital Principle of the Fear of God doth gradually and yet ſuddenly aſſimulate the Actions of our life flowing from another Principle. It rectifies and moderates our Affections, and Paſſions, and Appetites, it gives Truth to our Speech, Sobriety to our Senſes, Humility to our Parts, and the like.

Religion is beſt in its *Simplicity* and *Purity*, but difficult to be retained ſo, without Superſtructions and Acceſſions; and thoſe do commonly in time *Stifle and Choak* the *Simplicity* of Religion, unleſs much Care and Circumſpection be uſed: The Contemperations are ſo *many* and ſo *cumberſom*, that Religion loſeth its *Nature*, or is *ſtrangled* by them: Juſt as a man that hath ſome Excellent Simple Cordial or Spirit, and puts in Musk in it to make it ſmell ſweet, and Hony to make it taſte pleaſant,

and

and it may be *Cantharides* to make it look glorious. Indeed by the Infuſions he hath given it a very *fine Smell*, and *Taſte*, and *Colour*, but yet he hath ſo *clogg'd* it, and *ſophiſticated* it with Superadditions, that it may be he hath altered the Nature, and deſtroyed the Vertue of it.

The Superadditions and Superſtructions in point of Religion are very *many*, and from very many and various tempers in Men that add them. As for Inſtance,

1. There is one common Superaddition that naturally all Men are apt to bring into it, *viz.* that it may *Gratifie the Senſe*; for in as much as the moſt powerful and immediate influence upon us comes from, and through our Senſes, and that Spiritual and Internal Apprehenſions have not ſo ſtrong or conſtant an Impreſſion upon us, they ſeem things at a diſtance, flat, and the Soul is weary of bearing it ſelf upon them; Men are apt to dreſs up Religion ſo as it may be grateful to the *Senſe*; *Make us Gods that may go before us*: And this is the *chief original* of *Idolatry*, and alſo of *Superſtition*.

2. There are other Superadditions that come even from the accidental inclinations of Men to ſome ſpecial matter which they value and love; and that they carry over into Religion; and many times mingle with it. As for the purpoſe, take a Man greatly admiring *Natural Philoſophy*, he will be apt to mingle and qualifie Religion with *Philoſophical Notions*. Many of thoſe things of *Ariſtotle* that are harſhly and diſhonourably aſſerted concerning the Deity, are from his tenacious adhering to certain Philoſophical Poſitions that he had fixed upon.

Behmen, who was a great Chymiſt, reſolves almoſt all Religion in Chymiſtry, and frames his Conceptions of Religion ſuitable and conformable to Chymical Notions.

Socinus and his Followers, being great Masters of Reason, and deeply learned in matters of *Morality*, mingle almost all Religion with it, and form Religion purely to the Model and Platform of it.

Many great *Physicians* that have much observed the Constitutions of Mans Body, have figur'd to themselves Notions of the Soul conformable to the Results of their Observations in the Body.

And as thus in these sorts of Men so again Men of *Metaphysical* and *Notional Brains* and Education, as the Schoolmen, they have conformed Religion and their Notions concerning it to *Metaphysicks*: And indeed have made that which is and ought to be the common Principle for the actuating of all Men, yea even of the meanest Capacities, to be a meer Co ection of Subtilties, far more abstruse than the most intricate and sublimated Humane Learning whatsoever.

Again, take a *Politician*, or *States-man*, and he shall most easily conform Religion to *State-Policy*, and make it indeed a most excellent and incomparable Engine for it, and nothing else.

And if we narrowly look upon the Method and System of Religion as it is formed by the *Romish Hierarchy*, it is a most exquisite piece of *Humane Policy*, and every thing therein suited with most exquisite Art and Prudence for the support of the Grandeur and Interest of that State: This hath mingled with the Christian Religion the *Pope's Infallibility* and *Supremacy*, his Power of *Pardoning*, and *Dispensing* his *Keys of Heaven* and *Hell*, his *Purgatory* and *Indulgences*, and *Images*, and *Adorations* of them, his *Reliques*, and *Pilgrimages*, and *Canonizing* of *Saints*, and a thousand such kind of stuff most incomparably fitted to Mens Passions and Affections; and

and ſo to ſupport that moſt Artificial and Methodical Fabrick of the Popiſh State: For indeed it is no other.

And if we look into other Kingdoms and Places, we ſhall eaſily find, that *Religion* is ſo ſtated and ordered as may beſt conduce to the Peace, Order, Wealth, and Amplitude of every Kingdom; for wiſe Politicians, finding that *Religion* hath a great Impreſſion on Mens Minds, and therefore if it be not managed by the Policy of State, may prove an unruly Buſineſs, if it be contemperated with Mixture prejudicial to the State, and that it may be a moſt excellent Engine if it can be managed and actuated for the Benefit of the State, do add to it much of their own, that it may be managed upon occaſion, and they dreſs up *Religion* with *State-Policy*, whereby in truth it becomes nothing elſe but a meer *piece of Humane Policy*, under the Name of *Religion*.

And on the other ſide, thoſe either *Politick* or *Diſcontented* Spirits, that would put a Kingdom into Blood and Confuſion, do mingle *Diſcontents*, and *Fancies*, and *Imaginations*, *Suſpicions* and *Frowardneſs* with *Religion*, and call this confuſed Mixture of Phancies and Paſſions, *Religion*: And manage and brandiſh this Weapon with mighty diſadvantage to that State which they oppoſe.

For it is moſt apparent, that as nothing hath ſo great an Impulſion upon Men, as that which comes under the apprehenſion of *Religion*, in as much as it concerns the greateſt good, even their everlaſting Souls and Happineſs; ſo nothing is of ſo Univerſal Concernment as this, and therefore like to attract the moſt Followers; for every Man hath not an *Eſtate* to care for; but every Man hath a *Soul* to care for; and hence it is that ſcarce any great Con-

teſt between Princes hath happened in theſe latter Years, nor ſcarce any Commotion in a State, but *Religion* is owned on *all ſides*; and *God*, and *his Cauſe*, and his *Church*, owned on *all hands*, and therefore ſtill the ſcramble is for *Religion*, and who ſhall keep the *Opinion of Religion* moſt firm to them, and therefore they *on all hands* infuſe into the thing they call *Religion*, thoſe things that may moſt probably and politically hold to their Party.

Again, in Conteſt among *Clergymen*, every one Trims and Orders *Religion* in that Dreſs that may moſt make it *their own*, and ſecure it to *themſelves*.

Take the *Popiſh Clergymen*: Hold what you will, if you hold not the *Supremacy* and *Vicariot* of the Pope, all the reſt of your *Religion* is not worth a ruſh.

Come to the *Reformed Epiſcopal Clergy*: As to the *Pope's Supremacy* they diſclaim it: But if you acknowledge not *Epiſcopal Government*; if you *ſwear not Canonical Obedience* to your *Ordinary*, if you ſubmit not to the *Liturgy*, and *Ceremonies*, and *Veſtments* and *Muſick* uſed in the Church, you are at beſt a *Schiſmatick*.

Again, come to the *Presbyterian Clergy*, they will tell you Epiſcopal Government is *Romiſh* and *Superſtitious*, and their *Ceremonies* and Uſages Antichriſtian Uſurpations; but if you mean to be of a warrantable *Religion*, you muſt ſubmit to the *Presbyterian* Government as truly Apoſtolical.

Come to the *Independent*, he declaims againſt both the former, and tells you that the true Conformity to Apoſtolical Order is in the Congregational way.

Take the *Anabaptiſt*, and he tells you all the former are vain and irreligious, unleſs you will be *rebaptized* and *liſted* in their Church.

Again,

Again, in Points of *Doctrine*, as well as Diſcipline, it is moſt plain that Tenents are profeſſed or decry'd for *diſtinction* of *Parties:* Witneſs the Conteſt between the *Arminian* Party and the *Calviniſtical* Party, which are only uſed as Methods on either ſide, to attract Proſelytes and diſtinguiſh Parties: And in theſe and the like diſtinctions of Parties and Profeſſions the Superſtructions and Additions are in a manner incorporated and grafted into *Religion*, and in effect give the only Demonſtration to it, according to the various Intereſts and Affections of Parties; when in truth, the main buſineſs of theſe and the like Additions and Superſtructions, are but Policies to diſtinguiſh, and fortifie, and increaſe Parties.

3. There are ſome *Superadditions* to *Religion*, that though I do not think they are to be *condemned*, yet are carefully to be *diſtinguiſhed* from the true and natural *Life of Religion*; and ſo long as they are kept under that apprehenſion, they may, if *prudently applyed* and *managed*, do good. But if either they are *imprudently inſtituted*, *imprudently applyed*, or *inconſiderately over-valu'd*, as if they were *Religion*, they may and many times do harm; and ſuch are decent and inoffenſive Forms in the External Worſhip of God appointed by the Civil Magiſtrate, by the advice of thoſe that are deſervedly eminent in the Church for their Piety, Learning, and Prudence. And there ſeems to be very good reaſon for it.

1. Becauſe if every Man ſhould be left to himſelf, there would Confuſion enſue; becauſe no Man knew anothers mind, or rule of his external Deportment.

2. All men have not that equal Prudence to judge what were fit to be uſed: The Magiſtrates are beſt to make choice of thoſe Perſons that are fitteſt to adviſe, and their Recommendations would be of greateſt authority with others.

3. It is moſt certain, that Man being compoſed of Soul and Body, cannot ſo regularly and well fix himſelf to his Duty, without ſome juſtifiable help to his Devotion; ſuch are Vocal Prayers, Kneeling, and other Geſtures proper for the matter of Worſhip which he intends.

And this may be one reaſon, why the Lord, tho' he ſtrictly forbad all Idolatry and Superſtition, and Heatheniſh Practice to the *Jews*, yet did appoint Sacrifices, Prieſts, a Glorious Tabernacle, and the Ark, which was not only a diverſion from the *Egyptian* Idolatry which they had ſeen, but alſo a help to their natural Infirmity for the Excitation of their Devotion.

And although our Lord Jeſus came to *abrogate* even that *Indulgence*, and foretold that thoſe *that Worſhipped the Father ſhould Worſhip him in Spirit and in Truth*, under the Goſpel, yet it is certain that the immediate Apoſtles of Chriſt did ſet certain orderly Obſervances in the Church for Decencies ſake; and it was juſtly allowable: As concerning the Order of the Exerciſe of their Supernatural Gifts, concerning Womens ſpeaking in the Church, concerning Mens being covered in the Church and Women veiled, concerning the manner and order of receiving the Sacrament, and the like.

But as there be Reaſons for it, ſo there be Cautions to be uſed in it.

1. That they be not too *numerous*; for their Multitude will rather oppreſs than ſecure *Religion*.

2. That in their Natures they be not *Superſtitious*, but keep as much diſtance from it as well may be; otherwiſe they will be in *Religion*, as the dead Fly in the Apothecary's Oyntment.

3. That

3. That they be clean and decent, not too full of *Pomp* or *Oſtentation*: Ceremonies ſhould be uſed as we uſe a Glaſs, rather to preſerve the Oyl, than to *adorn* it. Too much Pomp cauſeth Jealouſies even in *Good Men*, of a degeneration either to Jewiſh Ceremonies or Popiſh Vanities.

4 That though ſuch are not to be *rejected*, becauſe they are *Ancient*, ſo if they become *Unſeaſonable*, they are not to be *held* meerly becauſe they are *Ancient*. It is with Ceremonies as with ſome other things that are fit to be changed when they become unuſeful or offenſive. as the *Love Feaſts*, *Extream Unction*, and ſome other things, poſſibly practiſed, and fit enough, in the Primitive times: Many Ceremonies were at firſt invented and practiſed, to win over unconverted Heathens; to incourage weak Chriſtians, eſpecially the *Jews*, who were not eaſily to be drawn from their Legal Ceremonies: But when People become a Knowing People, that ſee beyond thoſe Ceremonies, and underſtand when, and why, and how they came in, then it were Prudence to *diſpenſe* with, or *change* them.

5. That they *be not urged with too much rigour* or *ſeverity* upon ſuch as *conſcientiouſly* refuſe them. Charity to a weak Brother in things indifferent in their own Nature, is then to be exerciſed, when my Brother is offended therewith, or never: And if it be ſaid it is his Duty to ſubmit to the Church, and not the Church to him; I do think that anſwer will not ſerve in this Caſe, for ſurely though a Child owes a Duty to a Father, yet his Neglect thereof, eſpecially if it be upon a Conſcientious account, will not excuſe the neglect of a Father's Duty to his Child: The Apoſtle profeſſed he would

abſtain from things lawful rather than offend his weak Brother.

6. And eſpecially that we be careful to remember that *Religon is another thing from theſe Ceremonies.* Theſe are of *uſe, i. e.* for *Ornament*; they are the *Dreſſings* and the *Trimmings* of Religion at the beſt, but the fear of God is of a higher extraction.

It is a pitiful thing to ſee Men run upon this miſtake, eſpecially in theſe latter Times; on placing all his Religion in holding the *Pope to be Chriſt's Vicar*, another placing Religion in this, to hold *no* Papiſt *can be ſaved*: One holding all Religion to conſiſt, in holding *Epiſcopacy* to be *Jure Divino*; another by holding *Presbytery* to be *Jure Divino*; another in crying up *Congregational* Government; another in *Anabaptiſm*; one in placing all Religion in the ſtrict obſervation of all *Ceremonies*; another in a ſtrict *refuſal* of all: One holding a great part of Religion in putting *off the Hat*, and *bowing* at the *Name of Jeſus*; another judging a Man an Idolater for it: And a third placing his Religion in putting off his Hat to none; and ſo like a Company of Boys that blow Bubbles out of a Wall-nut-ſhell, every one runs after his Bubble, and calls it *Religion*; and every one meaſures the Religion or Irreligion of another, by their agreeing or diſſenting with them in theſe or the like matters; and at beſt, while we ſcramble and wrangle about the pieces of the Shell, the Kernel is either loſt, or gotten by ſome that do not prize any of their Conteſts.

Believe it, Religion is quite another thing from all theſe Matters: He that fears the Lord of Heaven and Earth, walks humbly before him, thankfully lays hold of the Meſſage of Redemption by Chriſt Jeſus,

Jeſus, ſtrives to expreſs his thankfulneſs by the Sincerity of his Obedience, is ſorry with all his Soul when he comes ſhort of his Duty, walks watchfully in the denial of himſelf, and holds no confederacy with any Luſt or known Sin; if he falls in the leaſt meaſure, is reſtleſs till he hath made his Peace by true Repentance, is true to his Promiſe, juſt in his Actions, Charitable to the Poor, ſincere in his Devotions, that will not deliberately diſhonour God, though with the greateſt Security of impunity; that hath his hope in Heaven, and his Converſation in Heaven, that dare not do an unjuſt Act though never ſo much to his advantage, and all this becauſe he ſees him that is inviſible, and fears him becauſe he loves him; fears him as well for his goodneſs, as his greatneſs; ſuch a Man whether he be an *Epiſcopal*, or a *Preſbyterian*, or an *Independant*, or an *Anapaptiſt*, whether he wears a *Surplice*, or wears none, whether he *hears Organs*, or *hears none*, whether he Kneels at the *Communion*, or for Conſcience ſake *ſtands* or *ſits*; he hath the *Life of Religion* in him, and that Life acts in him, and will conform his Soul to the Image of his Saviour, and walk along with him to Eternity, notwithſtanding his *Practice* or *Non-practice* of theſe *Indifferents*.

On the other ſide, if a Man *fears not the Eternal* God, dares commit any Sin with preſumption, can drink exceſſively, ſwear vainly or falſly, commit Adultery, Lye, Cozen, Cheat, break his Promiſes, live looſely, though he practiſe every Ceremony never ſo curiouſly, or as ſtubbornly oppoſe them; though he cry down Biſhops, or cry down Presbytery; though he be re-baptized every day, or though he diſclaim againſt it as Hereſie; though

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he Faſt all the *Lent*, or Feaſts out of pretence of avoiding Superſtition, yet notwithſtanding theſe, and a thouſand more external Conformities, or zealous Oppoſitions of them, he wants the Life of *Religion*.

CHAP. III.

Of the Chriſtian Religion, the Superſtructions upon it, and Animoſities about them.

THE Chriſtian *Religion* and Doctrine was by the Goodneſs and Wiſdom of God deſigned to be the common means and method to bring Mankind to their Chief End, namely, to know, and to ſerve, and obey, and glorifie, and everlaſtingly to enjoy Almighty God the Chiefeſt Good.

And to that end it was given out with all the Plainneſs and Perſpicuity, with all Evidence and certainty; a Doctrine and *Religion* containing Precepts of all Holineſs and Purity, of all Righteouſneſs and Honeſty, of all Longanimity, Benignity, and Gentleneſs, Sweetneſs, Meekneſs, and Charity; of all Moderation and Patience, of all Sobriety and Temperance; in brief, it is a *Religion* that is admirably and ſufficiently conſtituted to make a Man, what indeed he ſhould be, Pious towards God, Juſt and Beneficent towards Men, and temperate in himſelf, fitted for a Life of Piety, Honeſty, Juſtice, and Goodneſs, and Happineſs hereafter. Such is the *Chriſtian Religion*, and ſuch the Men muſt be that are truly conformable to it; and if any Man profeſſing *Chriſtianity*, be not ſuch a Man, it

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is becauſe he comes ſo much ſhort of his due Conformity to *Chriſtian Religion*, and the moſt excellent Doctrine and Precepts thereof.

The Profeſſion of this *Religion* is that which is, and for many Ages hath been, commonly made by a very conſiderable part of the known World, as the only true *Religion* given to the World by Almighty God, through his Son Jeſus Chriſt, wherein and whereby they may expect everlaſting Salvation.

But yet together with this *Chriſtian Religion*, the Profeſſors thereof have in ſeveral Ages and Places choſen to themſelves various *adventitious accidental Superſtructions*, *Additions*, *Opinions*, *Modes*, and *Practices*, which they have as it were incorporated into the *Chriſtian Religion* by them profeſſed or appendicated unto it.

And theſe Superſtructions or Appendixes of *Chriſtian Religion* have been introduced and entertained by various Means, and by various Deſigns, and to various Ends: Some by the *Authority of great Names*; ſome by *inſenſible gradations* or long *Cuſtoms*, ſome by a *ſuppoſed congruity* or *incongruity*; ſome for *Order* or *Decency*: Some for *Diſcrimination* of *Parties*; ſome for *Political Ends*, appearing in themſelves, or ſecretly carryed on; ſome upon *emergent occaſions*; either continuing or now ceaſing; ſome by Civil, ſome by *Eccleſiaſtical Sanctions*; ſome by *traditional* Obſervations, either continued, or interrupted and revived; ſome for *Ornament*; ſome for *Uſe*; ſome as ſuppoſed neceſſary *conſequents* upon the Chriſtian Doctrine, ſome to be, *quaſi ſepta & munimenta doctrinæ & religionis Evangelicæ*, as the Jewiſh Traditions were ſuppoſed to be the *Sepimenta Legis*; ſome for one end, and ſome

ſome for another: And although theſe are not truly and eſſentially parts of the Chriſtian Religion, yet as the humours in the Body are ſome good, ſome noxious, ſome innocent, though they are no part of the true vital Blood, yet they mingle with it, and run along in it; ſo theſe Superſtructions, and Occaſions, and Additions have in various Ages, Succeſſions, and Places, mingled with the true radical vital Doctrine and Religion of Chriſt, in Mens Opinions, and Practices, and Profeſſions.

And yet it is viſible to any Man that will but attentively obſerve the Courſes of Men profeſſing *Chriſtian Religion*, that the greateſt fervour and animoſity of the Profeſſors of *Chriſtian Religion* is not ſo much with reſpect to the Subſtantials of *Chriſtian Religion*, either in things to be believed or practiſed, as touching theſe *Additions* and *Superſtructions*; ſome as fervently contending for them, as if the Life of Chriſtianity conſiſted in them, ſome as bitterly and ſeverely conteſting againſt them, as if the Life and Soul of *Chriſtian Religion* were not poſſibly conſiſting with them.

And by theſe means theſe unhappy Conſequences follow.

1. That whereas the main of *Chriſtian Religion* conſiſts in the true belief of the Goſpel of Chriſt Jeſus, and the Practice of thoſe Chriſtian Vertues that he left unto his Diſciples and Followers, both by his Example and Precept, namely, Love of God, Holineſs and Purity of Life, Humility and Lowlineſs of Mind, Patience, Meekneſs, Gentleneſs, Charity, a low and eaſie value of the World, Contentation of Mind, ſubmiſſion to the Will of God, Dependance upon him, Reſignation unto him, and other excellent Evangelical Vertues, that perfect

fect and rectifie the Soul, and fit it for an humble Communion with Almighty God in this Life, and a bleſſed fruition of his Preſence in the Life to come; the Chriſtian Religion is not ſo much placed in theſe, as in an entire *Conformity to Modes and Circumſtances*, or an extream Averſion from them. And according to the various Intereſts or Inclinations of Parties, thoſe are made the *Magnalia* of *Chriſtian Religion*, and ſuch as give the only Character or Diſcriminative Indication of the *Chriſtian Religion*.

2. And conſequently all the greateſt part of that ſtreſs and *fervour of Mind*, which ſhould be employed in thoſe great weighty Subſtantials of Chriſtianity, runs out and ſpends it ſelf in thoſe little Collaterals, and Superſtructions, and Additaments, ſome placing the greateſt earneſtneſs and Intention, contention of Mind to have them, and ſome placing the Intention and fervour of their Mind to be without them, not unlike thoſe old Contentions between the *Eaſtern* and *Weſtern* Churches touching the time of the Paſchal Obſervation, one Party Excommunicating the other for their diſſent, as if the whole weight and ſtreſs of the *Chriſtian Religion* lay in thoſe little Additaments.

3. And hereupon there ariſe Schiſms, Factions, and Perſonal Animoſities, Diſcrimination of Parties, Cenſoriouſneſs, and ſtudied eſtrangings of Profeſſors of Chriſtianity, oftentimes one Party declining thoſe Practices which are good and commendable in the other, to keep their diſtances the more irreconcilable, and each Party eſpouſing ſome odd Diſcriminating Habits, Modes; and ſometimes alſo by Opinions in matters of Religion, that may eſtrange and diſcriminate them each from the other;

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and theſe Opinions though of little moment or conſequence (it may be whether true or falſe) are advanced up into little leſs than Articles of Faith, for the ſake of this Diſcrimination, when poſſibly they are of little moment whether they be aſſented unto or not, of leſs certainty, and have little or no influence or concern in the Subſtance of Chriſtian Doctrine.

4. And hereupon it oftentimes comes to paſs, that not only the common Bond of Charity and Chriſtian Love is broken between the Profeſſors of the ſame ſubſtantials in Chriſtianity, but there is moſt ordinarily much more *Severity*, and *Perſecution*, and *Implacableneſs*, and *Irreconcilableneſs*, more endeavours to undermine, and ſupplant, and diſgrace Diſſenters, more ſcorns and vilifying, and reproach, and inſolence one towards another in their viciſſitudes of advantage, than there is between Profeſſors of Chriſtianity, and Men of the moſt looſe and prophane Lives, between Orthodox and Hereticks, nay between Chriſtians and Turks or Infidels many times.

5. And from this there ariſeth a moſt fruitful and a moſt inevitable increaſe of Atheiſm and contempt of Religion, in many of the Spectators of this Game among Profeſſors of the Chriſtian Religion, and that upon theſe two Accounts: Principally, becauſe when they hear each Party declare (as they muſt if they declare truth) in their Sermons and Writings, that the Doctrine of Chriſtianity enjoyns *Mutual Love*, Condeſcention, Charity, Gentleneſs, Meekneſs, and yet ſo little practiſed by Diſſenting Parties, Men are apt to conclude, that either theſe Perſons do not believe what they pretend to Preach and Publiſh, or that the

the Doctrine of Chriſtianity was a Notion and Speculation, and never intended as a neceſſary Rule of Practice, ſince the greateſt Pretenders to the Religion of Chriſt, practiſe ſo little of it.

2. Becauſe when Men ſee that thoſe little Superſtructions and Additions are by the one ſide *Proſecuted*, and on the other ſide *decryed*, with as much Animoſity, Fervour and Severities, as the moſt weighty and important Truths and Precepts of Evangelical Faith and Obedience, Spectators and By-ſtanders think that they are all of the ſame value; and when they ſee that theſe things which every ſober conſiderate Man muſt needs conclude little, and of no moment, are rated at ſo great a value by the conteſting Parties of each ſide, Truths then are doubted of in relation to theſe: It makes Men call in queſtion great matters, when they ſee ſuch ſmall things purſued or declined with no leſs Fervour and Animoſity than if they were of the greateſt.

And conſidering theſe unhappy Conſequences of theſe Fervours of Minds touching theſe ſmall Appendixes and Superſtructions, even more than about, or concerning the very weighty things of the Goſpel, I have endeavoured to ſearch out the Reaſon how this ſtrong Diſtemper comes to paſs; and there ſeems to be theſe Cauſes thereof.

1. Ordinarily a Man is more fond of and concerned for ſomething that *is his own*, than for that which is *of God*; as we are tranſported with a love to our *ſelves*, ſo we are tranſported with a love and admiration of what *is our own*: And hence it is that the weightier and more important Duties injoyned by Chriſt, partake leſs of our Zeal, or Courage, or Intention of Mind, than our *own little Fantaſies* and *Inventions*.

2. *Pride*,

2. *Pride*, *Credit*, and *Reputation*, are commonly ingaged in either Party in the things conteſted, when they are once conteſted; and theſe are violent and preſſing Intereſts and Motions.

3. The *Plaineſt Truth* and *Purity* of Religion is a thing that ſeldom *pleaſeth and ſuiteth to the* Curioſity and Appetite of Men; they are always fond of ſomething Annexed or Appendicated to Religion to make it pleaſing to their Appetite. A certain Sawce that may entertain their Fancy, after which it may run, and wherein it may pleaſe it ſelf. And theſe Sawces to Religion are various, and variouſly pleaſing, according to the various Inclinations of Men: Moſt ordinarily the Fancies of Men affect ſome things Splendid and Senſible to be Superadded to Religion; the *Iſraelites* would needs have Gods that might go before them; and in complyance with this Humour, moſt of the Strange Modes and Geſticulations among the Heathens, and moſt of the Superſtitions, Ceremonies and Rites among the Papiſts, were invented.

Again, ſometimes the Humour of the People runs in the other Extreme, either they will have nothing of Form or Order, or all ſuch Forms or Orders as are extremely oppoſite to what others uſe, and place their Delight and Complacency therein: And by this means oftentimes it comes to paſs, that Men are carried with greater earneſtneſs and vehemence after thoſe *Placentia*, the entertainments of their Fancies, than to the true Subſtance of Religion it ſelf.

4. Oftentimes it comes to paſs that there are two very *jealous Concerns*, and impatient of any Corrival, that are ingaged each againſt other in theſe different and diſſenting Practices, relating

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to Collaterals in Religion: on the one ſide, *Power and Authority* is very tender of its own Intereſt, and jealous of a Competitor or Rival: On the other ſide, *Conſcience* and *Perſwaſion* either of the *Neceſſity* or unlawfulneſs of any thing, is very jealous, or fearful, and ſuſpicious of any thing that might injure it: And whether the Conſcience be miſtaken or not, yet ſo long as its Perſwaſion, that is entertained *ſub ratione conſcientiæ*, prevails, this jealouſie will ſtill prevail in the Mind; and it many times falls out that *Authority* on the one hand is impatient, or at leaſt jealous of Oppoſition, and *Conſcience* on the other hand reſtleſs and unquiet.

5. And the difficulty is ſo much the greater, becauſe each ſeems to derive their obliging Authority from God; the Magiſtrate recognizing God Almighty as the Fountain, Root, and Foundation of his Power; and the Conſcience ſuppoſed to be the Vicegerent of God in the Soul.

6. But that which admirably keeps up theſe differences, is that Men on each ſide deal not one with another *calmly*, *mildly*, or upon the Reaſons of the things, or upon a true way of Reaſoning, Debating, and Arguing of things, or prudent Conſiderations that might invite yielding on the one ſide, or accommodations of the other, but each Party takes in all thoſe Contributions, Aſſiſtances, and Advantages, that commonly accompany the worſt of Contentions.

For inſtance, 1. Extremity of Paſſion and Indignation, 2. Violence and Bitterneſs of Writings and Speeches. 3. Each Party rendering the other as odious and ridiculous as is poſſible: 4. Scoffing, jearing, and Perſonal Reflections: 5. Artifices and Deſigns each to catch and undermine the other:

6. An induſtrious and willing miſ interpretation of each others Words, Writings, and Actions, and raiſing them to odious Inferences and Conſequences, beyond what they were meant, or really and truly bear: 7. Diſingenuous Quotations out of each other, without thoſe ordinary Remedies that might be allowed by comparing of other parts of their Writings.

Theſe and the like Auxiliaries are on each part taken into theſe Velitations between Chriſtians, and in relation to things contended for or againſt in theſe Differences, whereas the whole tenour of the Doctrine of Chriſtianity, as it was delivered by Chriſt and his Apoſtles, decries nothing more than Anger, Wrath, Malice, Railing, Evil-ſpeaking, Back biting, Slanders, Reproaches, Names and Epithets or Scorns, Craft, and Subtilty; yet all theſe black Legions are called, uſed, and imployed in the management of that Cauſe, which each Party pretends to be the Cauſe of Chriſt; as if Fiends, and Furies, and Legions of Devils werethought fit Auxiliaries on each Party, wherein both pretend the Intereſt of Chriſt Jeſus.

And that this is ſo, let any Man but read thoſe Books which have flown abroad from either Party, he will find it evident in all the Contentions of this nature: Witneſs on the one part *Martin Mar-Prelate*, the *Odious Centuries* put out by Mr. *White* in the beginning of the Long Parliament, the frequent Invectives and odious Epithets given to the Liturgy, to the Biſhops, Conforming Miniſters, and to the Church of *England* it ſelf, as Antichriſtian, Idolatrous, *Babyloniſh*, and a thouſand ſuch Names and Stiles.

And on the other ſide there have been many that have not been behind hand with bitter Invectives Scornfu

Scornful and mocking Expreſſions and Appellations, odious Reflections, unneceſſary to be repeated. By all which theſe two things are evident.

1. That theſe Tranſports of either ſide come not from that Spirit which Chriſt brought with him into the World, and which he commended and left to his Diſciples and Followers; namely, a Spirit of Love, of Charity, of Gentleneſs, Patience, Kindneſs, and Sweetneſs of Diſpoſition.

2. That if Men go about to juſtifie this, becauſe firſt provoked by the adverſe Party, and ſo juſtifie it by the Law of Taliation, theſe Men do not remember, that as on the one hand the Duty of Chriſtians is Self denial, Moderation, and Peaceableneſs; on the other ſide, that a Spirit of Revenge, an Eye for an Eye, a Tooth for a Tooth, is as much againſt the Doctrine of Chriſt, as any thing in the World.

Therefore certainly it becomes thoſe of either Party either to caſhier theſe black Auxiliaries of their Wars, and Contentions of this kind, or otherwiſe for the ſake and honour of Chriſt and the Chriſtian Religion, plainly declare that he is not concerned in the Conteſt, but that the Conteſt is a Conteſt of *Intereſt* and *Vain-Glory*, of *Pride* and *Ambition*, and *Reputation*, and *deſire of Victory*: Or if they will not declare ſo much to the World, yet they muſt give leave to the Spectators to judge of it ſo.

Now theſe bitterneſſes and virulentneſſes of either ſide, have been commonly of two kinds: Firſt, ſuch as reflect, if not altogether, yet moſt of all, upon the *Perſons* of their Adverſaries: 2. Or ſuch as reflect only upon the *Matters* in difference between them: both were bad enough, and ſuch as ſerve to make the Differences and Breaches wider.

But of late times, I know not by what unhappy Star, there hath prevailed more than formerly, certain Invectives that have gone much farther, even to the rendering of *Religion it ſelf*, and *Scripture Expreſſions* ridiculous, and pieces of raillery; and I could have wiſhed that ſome late Books, put out under the faſhion of *Dialogues*, and ſome other Books of that kind, had not been too Guilty of this fault.

I do remember when *Ben. Johnſon* made his Play of the Alchymiſt, wherein he brings in *Anartas* in deriſion of the Perſons then called *Puritans*, with many of their Phraſes in uſe among them, taken out of the Scriptures, with a deſign to render that ſort of Perſons ridiculous, and to gain applauſe to his Wit and Fancy. But although thoſe Perſons were not in very good eſteem among the Great Ones and Gallants, yet the Play was diſliked, and indeed abhorred, becauſe it ſeemed to reproach Religion it ſelf, though intended only to render the Puritans ridiculous. That which was uncomely and unſeemly in a Poet, who made it his buſineſs to make Plays, certainly is much more fulſom and unſavory in another; eſpecially if the Author be a *Clergy-man*, as I ſuppoſe he is: For of all Men in the World it becomes ſuch *proſpicere honori Religionis Chriſtianæ*, and not to render it ridiculous and contemptible, by raillery and ſcurrilous jeſting.

And yet I do not find in all *Ben. Johnſon*'s *Alchymiſt* one half of thoſe ridiculous and unſeemly Repetitions of Scripture Phraſes and Expreſſions, as well as mimical imitations and diſdainful mockings of thoſe Perſons, and that Party whom he deſigns to diſparage: Scarce a Page but ſome unhandſome mention of the *Spirit*, and *Chriſt* and *Grace*, and *Saints*, and ſome Scripture Expreſſions: And if it

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ſhall be ſaid that he doth it but only in exprobation of ſuch Perſons as abuſed or miſapplyed ſuch expreſſions, and it is not with intent to reproach the Scripture or thoſe Phraſes that are deſumed from it, but to ſhew the boldneſs and miſtakes of them that have miſapplied or abuſed them.

I anſwer, 1. That theſe Miſapplications and inconſiderate Uſes of Scripture Phraſes by them, though it be juſtly reproveable, yet it is far more intolerable in him. Though their miſtakes were weak and fooliſh, yet they were *ſerious* in thoſe very miſtakes; but this Man induſtriouſly and deſignedly makes the *Expreſſion ridiculous* and contemptible: 2. Their Abuſes of Scriptures and Scripture Phraſes will not at all juſtifie the like in him, though in another kind, and to another end, he might have learned to have avoided the folly and inconſiderateneſs of the others, and not have multiplied it in himſelf by a worſe Method of Abuſe.

Certainly, whoever he was that made theſe *Conferences*, I dare ſay he had no ſuch Patern of writing from the Apoſtles or Fathers. The neareſt Copy that I know of it, is the *A*—— and though he ſeems a Man of Wit and Learning, and poſſibly would be ſome body in the World, I dare ſay they that cheriſh him in the main of his deſign are aſham'd of his Scurrility, and wiſh it had been ſpared, and ſo perchance may he be when more Years have better conſideration. The miſchiefs that come by this manner of writing are very great and many.

1. Firſt it makes Differences irreconcilable. When Differences Civil or Eccleſiaſtical in Judgment or Practice happen, gentleneſs, ſoftneſs, mildneſs, and perſonal reſpectfulneſs quiet the Paſſions and Spirits of the adverſe Party, gain upon him, get

within him; and when the Perſon is thus won, and over-match'd with Sweetneſs and Kindneſs, and perſonal Jealouſies and Prejudices removed, Perſwaſions, and Arguments grow prevalent, come with their full weight, are entertained calmly, and conſiderately, and inſenſibly gain ground even upon the Judgment: But I yet never knew any Man converted by an angry, paſſionate, railing Adverſary, for ſuch kind of behaviour preſently raiſeth in the Adverſary the like Paſſions and Prejudice, and makes the Diſtance greater; and the Paſſions being ingaged in the Quarrel, the Judgments of both ſides are loſt, or blinded, or ſilenced with the duſt and noiſe of paſſionate digladiations; and indeed conſidering how apparently and evidently ſuch kind of dealing between Diſſenters, renders compoſures almoſt impoſſible, and yet obſerving how much this courſe of reviling, and opprobrious, and unmanly as well as unchriſtian Language, is in practiſe, I thought that it hath been a real deſign to render each Party odious and irreconcilable to the other, and the hopes of compoſure deſperate: For who can ever expect that any Man, or any ſort of Men, ſhould be drawn over to that Party that ſhall publickly ſtile him *Brain ſick*, a *Fool*, *ſilly*, *Hypocrite*, *Fanatick*, and a hundred ſuch ſcornful Appellations; or that Men will be eaſily drawn to relinquiſh thoſe Opinions or Perſwaſions when they muſt thereby in effect ſubſcribe to ſuch Epithetes and Appellations before all the World; and of all things in the World Men can with the leaſt patience bear reflection upon their intellectuals, and are moſt irreconcilable to them that traduce or abuſe them therein.

2. It greatly diſadvantageth the *Cauſe*, as well as the *Perſons* of thoſe that uſe this method amongſt ſober

ſober indifferent Obſervers, who will be ready to conclude them a parcel of People tranſported by Paſſions, weak, and prejudicated; and look upon ſuch a Cauſe as is maintained by Railing, Scoffing, Raillery and unproved Calumnies, as weak, and ſtanding in need of ſuch rudeneſſes to ſupport and maintain it.

3. It expoſeth Religion it ſelf to the deriſion of Atheiſts, and confirms them in their Atheiſm, and gains them too many Proſelytes; and that principally upon theſe Reaſons, 1. Becauſe they find that Clergy-men do tell them in the Pulpits, that Chriſt himſelf and his Apoſtles condemned railing, ſcandalous Appellations, as *Racha*, and *Fool*, *Evil-ſpeaking*, *fooliſh jeſting*, *Mocking*, *Reviling*; this they tell Men, and they tell them truly, and yet theſe very Men that call themſelves Miniſters of Chriſt, Meſſengers of the Goſpel of Peace, take that admirable liberty of reproaching, ſcoffing, and deriding one another in their publick Pamphlets and Diſcourſes; that can ſcarce be exampled among the moſt invective Ranks of Perſons, whoſe trade it is to be Satyrical, and render People ridiculous: Nay ſo far hath this Excellent manage prevail'd among Clergy-men, that their Scoffs and Reproaches are not levelled at the Perſons, or Perſonal Defects of Diſſenters, but rather than want ſupports for their Party, will have ugly flings at Religion it ſelf, at Scripture Expreſſions; and when Men ſee ſuch a courſe of Practice among the Preachers and Clergy-men, they are ready to conclude, that ſurely they believe not themſelves what they Preach to others; therefore think they have a fair pretence not to believe them.

2. But principally theſe great Animoſities and Tranſports of Diſſenting Clergy-men, confirms and

promotes Atheiſm, upon this account that the things about which this wonderful hate is ſtrucken between theſe Parties, are ſuch as both Parties agree to be none of the Fundamentals of the Religion profeſſed by both, but Acceſſaries and Acceſſions, and ſuch indeed as By-ſtanders think are of very ſmall moment; and yet when Men ſee ſo much heat and paſſion, ſo much fervour and contention, ſuch reproaches and revilings, ſuch *exaſperations* of *Authority* on either Party, ſuch mutual Proſecutions one of another, that more could not poſſibly be done between Diſſenters in thoſe points which both agree to be Fundamental. Atheiſtical Spirits are apt to conclude, that probably thoſe points, that both ſides ſuppoſed to be of greater moment, are *ejuſdem farinæ*, with thoſe in Conteſt, ſince they are not, nor cannot be proſecuted with greater fervour, than theſe, which all Men take to be ſmall and inconſiderable, and that it is Intereſt, Vain-Glory, and Applauſe, or ſome other Temporal Concern, that gives this Fervour and Zeal in Matters of Religion, more than the true Concerns of it ſelf. The Concluſion therefore is, That Men for their own ſakes, and for the ſake and honour of the Chriſtian Religion, would uſe more Temperance, Prudence, and Moderation, in Conteſts about Circumſtantials.

The

The Author's First Epistle to his Children.

Dear Children.

I Intended to have been at *Alderley* this *Whitsontide*, desirous to renew those Counsels and Advices which I have often given you, in order to your Greatest Concernment; namely, the everlasting Good and Welfare of your Souls hereafter, and the due ordering of your Lives and Conversations here.

And although young People are apt, through their own Indiscretion, or the ill Advice of others, to think these kind of Entertainments but dry and empty matters, and the Morose and needless Interpositions of Old Men: yet give him leave to tell you, that very well knows what he says, These things are of more Importance and Concernment to you, than External Gifts and Bounties (wherein) nevertheless I have not been wanting to you, according to my Ability.

This was my Intention, in this Journey: and tho' I have been disappointed therein, yet I thought good, by Letters and Messages, to do something that might be done that way for your Benefit, that I had otherwise intended to have done in Person.

Assure your selves therefore, and believe it from one that knows what he says; from one that can neither have any reason, or end, to deceive you; That the best Gift I can give you is good Counsel; and the best Counsel I can give you, is, that which relates to your greatest Import and concernment; namely, Religion.

And

And therefore ſince I cannot at this time deliver it to you in Perſon, I ſhall do it by this Letter; wherein I ſhall not be very large, but keep my ſelf within the bounds proper for a Letter; and to thoſe things only at this time, which may be moſt of preſent uſe and moment to you: And by your due obſervance of theſe Directions, I ſhall have a good Character, both of your Dutifulneſs to God, your Obedience to your Father, and alſo of your Diſcretion and Prudence: For it is moſt certain, that as Religion is the beſt Means to advance and certifie Humane Nature; ſo no Man ſhall be either Truly Wiſe, or Truly Happy without it, and the Love of it, no not in this Life, much leſs in that which is to come.

Firſt, Therefore every Morning and every Evening, upon your Knees, humbly Commend your ſelves to Almighty God in Prayer, begging his Mercy to pardon your Sins; his Grace to direct you; his Providence to protect you; Returning him humble Thanks for all his Diſpenſations toward you, yea, even for his very Corrections and Afflictions; intreating him to give you Wiſdom and Grace, to make a Sober, Patient, Humble, Profitable Uſe of them; and, in his due time, to deliver you from them. Concluding your Prayers with the Lord's Prayer. This will be a certain means to bring your Mind into a right Frame; to procure you Comfort and Bleſſing, and to prevent Thouſands of Inconveniencies and Miſchiefs, to which you will be otherwiſe ſubjected.

Secondly,

Secondly, Every Morning read Seriouſly and Reverently a portion of the Holy Scripture, and acquaint your ſelf with the Hiſtory and Doctrine thereof: It is a Book full of Light and Wiſdom, will make you Wiſe to Eternal Life, and furniſh you with Directions and Principles, to guide and order your Life ſafely and prudently.

Thirdly, Conclude every Evening with Reading ſome part of the Scripture and Prayer in your Family.

Fourthly, Be ſtrict and Religious Obſervers of the Lord's Day; reſort to your Pariſh-Church Twice that Day, if your Health will permit, and Attend Diligently and Reverently to the Publick Prayers and Sermon: He cannot reaſonably expect a Bleſſing from God the reſt of the Week, that neglects his Duty to God, in the due Conſecration of this Day to the ſpecial Service and Duty to God, which this Day requires.

Fifthly, Receive the Sacrament at leaſt Three times in the Year, and oftner, as there is occaſion, in your Pariſh-Church. The Laws of the Land require this, and the Law of your Saviour requires it, and the Law of Duty and Gratitude require it of you. Prepare your ſelves ſeriouſly for this Service before-hand, and perform it with Reverence and Thankfulneſs: The neglect of this Duty procures great Inconvenience and Strangeneſs: And commonly the neglect hereof ariſeth from ſome Conceited Opinion, that People incon-

inconſiderately take up; but moſt ordinarily from a ſluggiſhneſs of Mind, and an Unwillingneſs to fit and prepare the Mind for it; or to leave ſome Sinful or Vain Courſe, that Men are not willing to leave, and yet condemn themſelves in the Practice of it.

Sixthly, Beware of thoſe that go about to Seduce you from that Religion wherein you have been brought up hitherto; namely, the true Proteſtant Religion: It is not unknown to any that obſerves the State of Things in the World, how many Erroneous Religions are ſcattered abroad in the World; and, how Induſtrious Men of Falſe Perſwaſions are to make Proſelytes. There are *Antinomians*, *Quakers*, *Anabaptiſts*, and divers others that go about to Miſlead themſelves, and others: Nay, although the Laws of this Kingdom, and eſpecially the Statute of 23 *Eliz. cap* 1. have Inflicted the ſevereſt Penalty upon thoſe that go about to withdraw Perſons to the *Romiſh* Religion, from the Religion Eſtabliſhed in *England*, as any Man that Reads that Statute may find; yet there are ſcattered up and down the World divers Factors and Agents, that under ſeveral Diſguiſes and Pretences, endeavour the Perverting of Weak and Eaſie, Perſons: Take heed of all ſuch Perſwaders. And that you may know and obſerve the better, you ſhall ever find theſe Artifices practiſed by them.

1. They will uſe all flattering Applications, and Inſinuations to be Maſter of your Humour, and when they have gotten that advantage, they that ſeemed before to ſerve you, will then Command you.

2. They

2. They will use all possible skill to raise in you Jealousie and Dislike towards those that may otherwise Continue, and keep you in the Truth; as to raise Dislike in you against your Minister; nay, rather than fail, to raise Dissention among Relations; yea, to cast Jealousies and Surmises among them, if it may be Instrumental to Corrupt them.

3. They will endeavour to withdraw People from the Publick Ministery of God's Word, encourage Men to slight and neglect it: And when they have once effected this, they have a fair opportunity to Infuse their own Corrupt Principles.

4. They will engage you, by some means or other, to them; either by some real, but most ordinarily by some pretended Kindness, or Familiarity; that, in a little time, you shall not dare to displease them; you must do and speak what they will have you, because some way or other you are Intangled with them, or Ingaged to them: And then they become your Governours, and you will not dare to contradict, or disobey them.

These are some of those Artifices whereby Crafty and Subtile Seducers gain Proselytes, and bring Men under Captivity.

Seventhly, Be very careful to Moderate your Passions, especially of Choler and Anger; it enflames the Blood, disorders the Brain, and, for the time

time exterminates not only Religion, but common Reaſon: It puts the Mind into Confuſion, and throws Wild-fire into the Tongue, whereby Men give others advantage againſt them; it renders a Man uncapable of doing his Duty to God, and puts a Man upon Acts of Violence, Unrighteouſneſs, and Injuſtice to Men: Therefore keep your Paſſions under Diſcipline, and under as ſtrict a Chain as you would keep an Unruly Curſt Maſtiff: Look to it, that you give it not too much Line at firſt. But if it hath gotten any Fire within you, quench it preſently, with conſideration; and let it not break out into Paſſionate, or Unruly Words or Actions: But, whatever you do, let it not Gangtene into Malice, Envy, or ſpight.

Eighthly, Send your Children early to learn their Catechiſm, that they may take in the True Principles of Religion betimes, which may grow up with them, and habituate them both to the Knowledge and Practice of it: That they may eſcape the danger of Corruption by Error or Vice: being antecedently ſeaſoned with better Principles.

Ninthly, Receive the Bleſſings of God with very much Thankfulneſs to him; for he is the Root and Fountain of all the Good you do, or can receive.

Tenthly, Bear all Afflictions and Croſſes Patiently, it is your Duty, for Afflictions come not from the Duſt. The Great God of Heaven and Earth is he that ſends theſe Meſſengers to you, though

though possibly evil Occurrences may be the immediate Instruments of them: You owe to Almighty God an infinite Subjection and Obedience, and to Expostulate with him is Rebellion: And as it is your Duty, so it is your Wisdom and your Prudence; Impatience will not discharge your Yoke, but it will make it gall the worse, and sit the harder.

Eleventhly, Learn not only Patience under your Afflictions, but also profitably to improve them to your Soul's good: Learn by them how vain and unprofitable things the World, and all the Pleasures thereof are, that a sharp, or a lingring Sickness renders uttterly tasteless. Learn how vain and weak a thing Humane Nature is, which is pulled down to the Gates of Death, and Cloathed with Rottenness and Corruption, by a little disorder in the Blood, in a Nerve, in a Vein, in an Artery. And since we have so little hold of a Temporal Life, which is shaken and shatter'd by any small Occurence, Accident, or Distemper: Learn to lay hold of Eternal Life, and of that Covenant of Peace and Salvation, which *Christ* hath brought for all that believe and obey the Gospel of Peace and Salvation: There shall be no Death, no Sickness, no Pain, no Weakness, but a State of Unchangeable, and Everlasting Happiness. And if you thus improve Affliction, you are Gainers by it; and most certain it is, that there is no more probable way under Heaven to be delivered from Affliction (if the Wise God see it fit) than thus to improve it. For Affliction is a Messenger; and the Rod hath a Voice; and that is, to require Mankind to be the

'the more Patient, and the more Humble, and the 'more to acknowledge Almighty God in all our 'ways: And if Men liſten to this Voice of the 'Rod, and conform to it, the Rod hath done his 'Errand; and either will leave a Man, or at leaſt 'give a Man ſingular Comfort, even under the 'ſharpeſt Affliction. And this *Affliction which is 'but for a moment*, thus Improved, *will work for 'us an exceeding and eternal weight of Glory.*

'*Twelfthly*, Reverence your Miniſter: he is a Wiſe 'and a Good Man, and one that Loves you, and 'hath a tender Care and Reſpect for you: Do 'not grieve him, either by Neglect, or Diſrepect. 'Aſſure your ſelves, if there be any Perſon that 'ſets any of you againſt him, or provokes, or in-'courageth any of you to deſpiſe, or neglect him; 'That Perſon, whoever he be, loves not you, nor 'the Office he bears. And therefore as the Laws 'of the Land, and the Divine Providence, hath 'placed him at *Alderley*, to have a Care of your 'Souls; ſo I muſt tell you I do expect, you ſhould 'Reverence and Honour him for his own, for your, 'and for his Office-ſake.

'And now I have written this long *Epiſtle* to 'you, to perform that Office for me, that I ſhould 'have done in Perſon, if I could have taken this 'Journey. The *Epiſtle* is long, but it had been 'longer if I had had more time. And though 'perchance ſome there may be in the World, that 'when they hear of it, will interpet it to be but 'the Excurſions and Moroſe Rules of Old Age, 'unneceſſary, and ſuch as might have been ſpared; 'yet I am perſwaded, 'twill find better Acceptati-

'on

'on thereof from you that are my Children. I 'am now on the shady side of Threescore Years: 'I Write to you, what you have often heard me 'in Substance Speak; and possibly when I shall 'leave this World, you will want such a Remembancer as I have been to you. The Words that 'I now, and at former times have Written to you, 'are Words of Truth and Soberness; and Words 'and Advices that proceed from a Heart full of 'Love and Affection to you all. If I should see 'you do amiss in any thing, and should not Reprove you; or if I should find you want Counsel 'and Direction, and should not give it, I should 'not perform the Trust of a Father; and if you 'should not Thankfully receive it, you would be 'somewhat defective in the Duty you owe to God 'and Me, as Children. As I have never spared 'my Purse to Supply you, according to my Abilities, and the Reasonableness of occasions; so I 'have never been wanting to you in good and prudent Counsels; And the God of Heaven give 'you Wisdom, Constancy, and Fidelity in the 'observance of them. I am

20 *May*. Your Ever Loving Father,

Matthew Hale.

The Author's Second Epiſtle to his Children.

Concerning their SPEECH.

Children,

I Thank God I came well to *Farrington* this *Saturday* about Five of the Clock, and becauſe I have ſome leiſure time at my Inn, I could not ſpend that time more to my own Contentment, and your Benefit, than by my Letter to give you all good Counſel: The Subject whereof at this time ſhall be concerning Speech, becauſe much of the good or evil that befalls perſons, doth occaſionally happen by the well or ill managing of that part of humane Converſation: I ſhall as I have leiſure and opportunity at other times give you my Directions concerning other Subjects.

And herein I ſhall adviſe you Firſt, how you are to entertain the Speeches of others, according to the divers varieties thereof: Secondly, how you are to manage and order your own Speech.

Firſt, As concerning the former, obſerve theſe Directions: 1. Obſerve and mark as well as you may, what is the temper and diſpoſition of thoſe perſons, whoſe Speeches you hear, whether they be grave, ſerious, ſober, wiſe, diſcreet perſons, if they be ſuch, their Speeches commonly are like themſelves, and will deſerve your Attention and Obſervation. But if they be light, impertinent, vain, paſſionate perſons, their Speech is for the moſt part according, and the beſt advantage that you

you will gain by their Speech, is but thereby to learn their dispositions, to discern their failings, and to make your selves the more cautious both in your conversation with them, and in your own Speech and deportment, for in the unseemliness of their Speech, you may better discern and avoid the like in your selves.

2. If any person, that you do not very well know to be a person of truth, sobriety and weight, relate strange Stories, be not two ready or easie to believe them, nor report them after him: And yet (unless he be one of your familiar acquaintance) be not too forward to Contradict him; or if the necessity of the occasion require you to declare your opinion of what is so reported, let it be modestly and gently, not too bluntly or coursely; by this means, on the one side you shall avoid being abused by your too much credulity; on the other side you shall avoid quarrels and distaste.

3. If any man speak any thing to the disadvantage or reproach of one that is absent, be not too ready to believe it, only observe and remember it, for it may be it is not true, or it is not all true, or some other circumstances were iningled with it, which might give the business reported a justification, or at least an allay, an extenuation or a reasonable excuse: In most Actions, if that which is bad alone, or seems to be so, be reported, omitting that which is good, or the circumstances that accompany it, any Action may be eatily misrepresented; be not too hasty therefore to believe a reproach, 'till you know the truth, and the whole truth.

4 If any person report unto you some injury done to you by another, either in words or deeds,

do not be over haſty in believing it, nor ſuddenly angry with the perſon ſo accuſed; for poſſibly it may be falſe or miſtaken, and how unſeemly a thing will it be, when your credulity and paſſion, ſhall perchance carry you upon a ſuppoſed injury to do wrong to him that hath done you none; or at leaſt, when the bottom and truth of the accuſation is known, you will be aſham'd of your paſſion; believe not a report, 'till the party accuſed be heard; and if the report be true, yet be not tranſported either with paſſion, haſty anger or revenge, for that will be your own torment and perturbation: Ever when a perſon is accuſed or reported to have injur'd you, before you give your ſelf leave to be angry, think with your ſelf, why ſhould I be angry before I am certain it is true? Or if it be true, how can I tell how much I ſhould be angry 'till I know the whole matter? Though it may be he hath done me wrong, yet poſſibly it is not ſo much as it is repreſented, or it was done by miſtake, or it may be he is ſorry for it: I will not be angry 'till I know there be cauſe, and if there be cauſe, yet I will not be angry 'till I know the whole cauſe, for 'till then, (if I muſt be angry at all) yet I know not how much to be angry, it may be it is not worth my anger, or if it be, it may be it deſerves but a little. This will keep your Mind and Carriage upon ſuch occaſions in a due temper and order; and will diſappoint Malicious or Officious Tale bearers.

5. If a man whole integrity you do not very well know, makes you great and extraordinary profeſſions and promiſes, give him as kind thanks as may be, but give not much Credit to it: Caſt about with your ſelf what may be the reaſon of this

his wonderful kindneſs, it is twenty to one but you will find ſomething that he aims at, beſides kindneſs to you: It may be he hath ſomething to beg or buy of you, or to ſell to you, or ſome ſuch bargain that ſpeaks out at laſt his own advantage, and not yours: And if he ſerve his turn upon you, or if he be diſappointed, his kindneſs will grow cool.

6. If a man Flatter and Commend you to your face or to one that he thinks will tell you of it; it is a thouſand to one, either he hath deceived and abuſed you ſome way, or means to do ſo: Remember the Fable of the Fox, commending the Singing of the Crow, when ſhe had ſomewhat in her mouth that the Fox liked.

7. If a perſon be Cholerick, Paſſionate, and give you ill Language, remember, 1. Rather to pity him, than to be mov'd into anger and paſſion with him, for moſt certainly that man is in a diſtemper and diſorder, obſerve him Calmly and you ſhall ſee in him ſo much perturbation and diſturbance, that you will eaſily believe he is not a pattern to be imitated by you, and therefore return not Choler, nor Anger, for angry words; for you do but put your ſelf into a kind of frenzy, becauſe you ſee him ſo: 2. Be ſure you return not railing reproaching, or reviling for reviling, for it doth but kindle more heat, and you will find ſilence, or at leaſt very gentle words, the moſt Exquiſite Revenge of Reproaches that can be, for either it will cure the diſtemper in the other, and make him ſee and be ſorry for his paſſion, or it will torment him with more perturbation and diſturbance. But howſoever it keeps your innocence, gives you a deſerved reputation of Wiſdom and Moderation.

and keeps up the Serenity and Compoſure of your Mind: Whereas paſſion and anger do make a man unfit for any thing that becomes him as a Man, or as a Chriſtian.

8. Some men are excellent in knowledge of Husbandry, ſome of Planting, ſome of Gardening, ſome in the Mathematicks, ſome in one kind, ſome in another: In all your Converſation, learn as near as you can wherein the skill and excellence of any perſon lies, and put him upon talk of that Subject, and obſerve it, and keep it in Memory or Writing; by this means you will glean up the worth and excellence of every perſon you meet with, and at an eaſie rate put together that which may be for your uſe upon all occaſions.

9. Converſe not with a lyer or a ſwearer, or a man of obſcene or wanton Language; for either he will corrupt you, or at leaſt it will hazard your Reputation to be one of the like making: And if it doth neither, yet it will fill your memory with ſuch diſcourſes, that will be troubleſome to you in aftertime, and the returns of the remembrance of the paſſages which you long ſince heard of this nature will haunt you when your thoughts ſhould be better imployed.

II. Now as concerning your own Speech, and how you are to manage it; ſomething may be Collected out of what goes before, but I ſhall add ſome things elſe.

1. Let your Speech be true, never ſpeak any thing for a truth, which you know or believe to be falſe: It is a great ſin againſt God, that gave you a Tongue to ſpeak your mind, and not to ſpeak a lye: It is a great offence againſt humanity it ſelf, for where there is no truth, there can be no ſafe ſociety between man and man: And it is an injury

injury to the ſpeaker, for beſides the baſe diſreputation it caſts upon him it doth in time bring a man to that baſeneſs of mind, that he can ſcarce tell how to tell truth or to avoid lying, even when he hath no colour of neceſſity for it; and in time he comes to ſuch a paſs, that as another man cannot believe he tells a truth, ſo he himſelf ſcarce knows when he tells a lye: And obſerve it, a lye ever returns with diſcovery and ſhame at the laſt.

2. As you muſt be careful not to lye, ſo you muſt avoid coming near it, you muſt not Equivocate, you muſt not ſpeak that abſolutely which you have but by hear-ſay or relation, you muſt not ſpeak that as upon knowledge, which you have but by conjecture or opinion only.

3. Let your words be few, eſpecially when your betters, or ſtrangers, or men of more experience, or underſtanding, are in place, for you do your ſelf at once two great miſchiefs: 1. You betray and diſcover your own weakneſs and folly: 2. You rob your ſelf of that opportunity which you might otherwiſe have to gain Knowledge, Wiſdom, and Experience, by hearing thoſe that you ſilence by your impertinent talking.

4. Be not over-earneſt, lowd, or violent in talking, for it is unſeemly, and earneſt and lowd talking make you over ſhoot and loſe your buſineſs; when you ſhould be conſidering and pondering your thoughts, and how to expreſs them ſignificantly, and to the purpoſe, you are ſtriving to keep your Tongue going, and to ſilence an opponent, not with reaſon, but with noiſe.

5. Be careful not to interrupt another in his talk, hear him out, you will underſtand him the better, and be able to give him the better anſwer, it may be if you will give him leave he will ſay ſome-

what more than you have yet heard, or well underſtood, or that which you did not expect.

6. Always before you ſpeak, eſpecially where the buſineſs is of moment, conſider before hand, weigh the ſence of your mind which you intend to utter, think upon the expreſſions you intend to uſe, that they be ſignificant, pertinent and unoffenſive; and whereas it is the ordinary courſe of inconſiderate perſons to ſpeak their words, and then to think, or not to think 'till they ſpeak, think firſt and ſpeak after, if it be in any matter of moment or ſerioufneſs.

7. Be willing to ſpeak well of the abſent, if you do not know they deſerve ill: By this means you ſhall make your ſelf many friends, and ſometimes an undeſerved Commendation, is not loſt to the Party to whom it is given, I have known ſome men that have met with an undeſerved Commendation, out of ſhame of being worſe than they have been reported, ſecretly to take up practiſes and anſwerable to their Commendation, and ſo to make themſelves as good as they are reported.

8. Be ſure you give not an ill report to any that you are not ſure deſerves it: And in moſt Caſes though a man deſerves ill, yet you ſhould be ſparing to report him ſo; in ſome Caſes indeed you are bound, in Honeſty and Juſtice, to give that account concerning the demerit or default of a perſon that he deſerves; as namely, when you are called to give Teſtimony for the ending of a Controverſie, or when the Concealing of it may harden and Encourage a perſon in an evil way, or bring another into danger; in ſuch Caſes the very duty of Charity binds you to ſpeak your knowledge, nay your

your probable fear or ſuſpicion of ſuch a perſon, ſo it be done for prevention of greater inconvenience, and in love, and eſpecially if the diſcovery be made to a perſon that hath a ſuperintendence, Care or Authority over the perſon complained of; for this is an Act of Love and Duty. But for any perſon, maliciouſly, buſily, and with intent to ſcandalize another, to be whiſpering Tales and Stories to the prejudice of another, this is a fault: If you know any good of any perſon, ſpeak it as you have opportunity; if you know any evil, ſpeak it, if it be really and prudently done for the good of him, and the ſafety of others; otherwiſe rather chuſe to ſay nothing, than to ſay any thing Reproachfully, Maliciouſly, or Officiouſly, to his Prejudice.

9. Avoid Swearing in your ordinary Communication, unleſs called to it by the Magiſtrate, and not only the groſſer Oaths, but the leſſer; and not only Oaths, but imprecations, earneſt and deep proteſtations: As you have the commendable Example of good men to juſtify a ſolemn Oath before a Magiſtrate, ſo you have the Precept of our Saviour forbidding it otherwiſe.

10. Avoid ſcoffing, and bitter, and biting jeering, and jeſting, eſpecially at your friends Condition, credit, deformity or natural defects of any perſon, for theſe leave a deep impreſſion, and are a moſt apparent injuſtice; for were you ſo uſed, you would take it inwardly and amiſs, and many times ſuch an injury coſts a man dear, when he little thinks of it.

11. Be very carefull, that you give no Reproachfull, Bitter, Menacing or Spightful words to any perſon, nay not to Servants, or other perſons

of

of an inferiour Condition, and that upon theſe conſiderations: 1. There is not the meaneſt perſon but you may ſtand in need of him in one kind, or at ſome time or another, good words make friends, bad words make Enemies, it is the beſt prudence in the World to make as many friends as honeſtly you can, eſpecially when it may be done at ſo eaſie rate as a good word, and it is the greateſt folly that can be to make an Enemy by ill words, which do not at all any good to the party that uſeth them: 2. Ill words provoke ill words again, and commonly ſuch ill words as are gained by ſuch a provocation, eſpecially of an inferiour, ſtick cloſer, and wound deeper, than ſuch as come unprovoked by ill Language, or from an equal: 3. Where faults are committed, they may and by a ſuperiour muſt be reproved, but let it be done without Reproaches, or Bitterneſs, otherwiſe it loſeth its due end and uſe, and inſtead of reforming the offence, exaſperates the offender, and makes him worſe, and gives him the Cudgel to ſtrike again, becauſe it diſcovers your own weakneſs when you are reprehending another, and lays you juſtly open to his reproof, and makes your own but ſcorned and diſeſteemed: I preſs this the rather, becauſe moſt ordinarily ill Language is the folly of Children, and of weak and paſſionate people.

12. If there be occaſion for you to ſpeak in any Company, always be careful if you ſpeak at all, to ſpeak lateſt, eſpecially if Strangers are in Company, for by this means you will have the advantage of knowing the ſence, judgment, temper, and relations of others which may be a great light and help to you in ordering your Speech, and you will better know the Inclination of the Company, and ſpeak with more advantage and acceptation,

tation, and with more ſecurity againſt giving offence.

13. Be careful that you commend not your ſelves, it is the moſt unuſeful and ungrateful thing that can be: You ſhould avoid Flattery from others, but eſpecially decline Flattering of your ſelves it is a ſign your Reputaion is ſmall and ſinking, if your own Tongues muſt be your Flatterers or Commenders, and it is a fulſome and unpleaſing thing for others to hear it.

14. Abhor all foul, unclean and obſcene Speeches, it is a ſign that the heart is Corrupt, and ſuch kind of Speeches will make it worſe, it will Taint and Corrupt your ſelves and thoſe that hear it, and brings diſreputation to thoſe that uſe it.

15. Never uſe any prophane Speeches, nor make Jeſts of Scripture-expreſſions; when you uſe the names of God or of Chriſt, or any paſſages or words of the holy Scripture, uſe them with Reverence and Seriouſneſs, and not Lightly, Vainly, or Scurrilouſly, for it is a taking of the name of God in vain.

16. If you hear of any unſeemly Expreſſions uſed in Religious Exerciſes, you muſt be careful to forget and not to publiſh them, or if you at all mention them, let it be with pity and ſorrow, not with Deriſion or Reproach.

17. Do not upbraid any, or deride any man for a pious, ſtrict, or religious Converſation; for if he be ſincere, you diſhonour God and injure him: If he be an Hypocrite, yet it is more than you know, or if you know him to be ſuch, yet his external Piety and Strictneſs is not his fault, but his Diſſimulation and Hypocriſie, and though his Hypocriſie be to be deteſted, his external Piety and Religion is to be Commended, not Derided.

18 Have

18. Have as little converſation as is poſſible with obſtinate Hereticks, or perſons obſtinately perverted in matters of Religion, as Papiſts, Quakers, Anabaptiſts, Antinomians, Enthuſiaſts, and the like: But eſpecially converſe not with them in matters of Religion; for inſtead of Converting them by your perſwaſions to the truth, you ſhall but harden them the more, and endanger your ſelf: They are to be dealt withal in theſe matters, only by perſons of great Abilities: For a Perverted, Corrupted mind, an Obſtinate Spirit, carries in it a Contagion, as infectious and much more dangerous than the Plague in the Body, where their opinions meet with a young and weak opponent.

And thus, Children, as the time and my remembrance would give me leave, I have ſet down ſome Obſervations concerning this Subject, for your direction and practice, what is wanting you may abundantly ſupply by reading the wiſe Counſels of *Solomon*, in his Book of *Proverbs:* Read theſe my directions often, think of them ſeriouſly, and practiſe them diligently; though they ſeem but dry and ordinary things, yet you will find them uſeful in your Converſation, which will be every Day more evident unto you, as your judgment, underſtanding and experience increaſe.

I have but little more to write at this time, but to wiſh and Command you to remember my former Counſels, that I have often given you; begin and end the Day with private Prayers to God upon your knees, Read the Scriptures often and ſeriouſly, be attentive to the publick Worſhip of God in the Church: Keep your ſelves ſtill in ſome good imployment, for idleneſs is the Devils opportunity, and the nurſery of vain and ſinful thoughts,

thoughts, which Corrupt the mind, and diſorder the Life. Let the Girls take care of ſuch buſineſs of my Family, as is proper for them, and their Recreations may be walking abroad in the Fields in Fair or Froſty Mornings, ſome work with their Needle, Reading of Hiſtory or *Herbals*, ſetting of Flowers or Herbs, practiſing their Muſick and ſuch innocent and harmleſs exerciſes: Let the Boys be diligent at their Books, and when they have performed their Tasks, I do not deny them ſuch Recreations as may be healthy, ſafe and harmleſs. Be you all kind and loving one to another, honouring your Miniſter, not bitter or harſh to my Servants, be reſpectful to all, bear my abſence Patiently, Cheerfully and Faithfully; do all things as if I were preſent among you, and beheld you, for you have a greater Father than I am, that always and in all places beholds you, and knows your hearts and thoughts: Study to requite the Love, and Care, and Expence of your Father for you, with dutifulneſs, obſervance and obedience to him: And account it an honour, that God hath given you an opportunity in my abſence, by your Care, Faithfulneſs and Induſtry, to pay ſome part of that debt, that by the Laws of Nature and Gratitude you owe unto me: Be frugal in my Family, but let there be no want: Provide conveniently for the Poor, that come to my door. And I pray God to fill all your hearts with his Grace, Fear and Love; and to let you ſee the advantage and comfort of ſerving him, and that his bleſſing and preſence, and comfort, and direction, and providence, be with you, and over you all. I am,

Your ever Loving Father,

MATTHEW HALE.

The

The Author's Third Epiſtle to one of his Sons:

After his Recovery from the Small-pox.

Son——

ALthough by reaſon of the Contagiouſneſs of your Diſeaſe, and the many dependents I have upon me, I thought it not convenient to come unto you during your ſickneſs; yet I have not been wanting in my earneſt Prayers to Almighty God for you, nor in uſing the beſt means I could for your recovery.

It hath pleaſed God to hear my Prayers for you, and above means and hopes now to reſtore you to a Competent degree of health, for which I return unto him my humble and hearty thanks, and now you are almoſt ready to come abroad again, therefore I have thought fit to write this little Book to you, for theſe reaſons,

1. Becauſe it is not yet ſeaſonable for you to come to me, in reſpect of theſe ſame reaſons above mentioned, which hitherto have reſtrained my coming to you.

2. Becauſe at your coming abroad, you will be ſubject to Temptations, by young and inconſiderate Company, which inſtead of ſerious Thankfulneſs to God for his mercy to you, might perchance perſwade you to a vain, and light jollity: And I thought fit to ſend you theſe Lines to prevent ſuch inconſiderate impreſſions, and to meet you juſt at your

your coming abroad, to ſeaſon you with more wiſe and ſerious principles.

3. Becauſe you are even now come out of a great and ſore Viſitation, and therefore, in all probability, in the fitteſt temper to receive the impreſſions of a ſerious Epiſtle from your Father.

And I have choſen to put it into this little Volume, becauſe it is ſomewhat too long for a Letter; and may be better preſerved for your future uſe and memory.

God Almighty hath brought you to the very Gates of Death, and ſhewed you the Terrour, and Danger of it; and after that he had ſhewn you this Spectacle of your own Mortality, he hath Marvellouſly reſcued and delivered you from that Danger, and given you Life, even from the Dead, ſo that you are as a man new Born into the World, or returned to Life again, which now you ſeem as it were to begin: You have paſſed through thoſe two great Diſpenſations of the Divine Providence, thoſe two great Experiments, that God is pleaſed ſometimes to uſe towards the Children of men, namely, Correction and Deliverance, his Rod and Staff: And therefore in all reaſonable conjecture, this is the moſt ſeaſonable time to give you a Lecture upon both, and thoſe admonitions which may be, render the one, and the other profitable unto you: And this I ſhall endeavour to do in theſe following Lines.

Firſt, you ſhall not need to fear that I intend to upbraid you with the errors of your Youth, or to expoſtulate with you touching them: For I do aſſure you I do from my heart forgive you all your follies, and miſcarriages: And I do aſſure my

my ſelf that you have repented of them, and reſolved againſt them for the time to come, and that thereupon God-Almighty hath alſo fully forgiven what is paſt: And this is a great aſſurance thereof to me, in that he hath ſo wonderfully reſtored you, and given you as it were a new Life, wherein you may obey and ſerve him better than ever you yet did: And therefore if in this Letter, there be any touches concerning former vanities, aſſure your ſelf, they are not angry repetitions, but only neceſſary Cautions for your future ordering of your Life.

The buſineſs of theſe papers, is principally, to commend unto you, two general Remembrances, and certain Reſults and Collections, that ariſe from them, they are all ſeaſonable for your preſent Condition, and will be of ſingular uſe and benefit to you, in the whole enſuing Courſe of your Life.

Firſt, I would have you as long as you live remember your late Sickneſs in all its Circumſtances, and theſe plain and profitable inferences, and advices that ariſe from it.

Secondly, I would have you remember as long as you live, your great deliverance, and the ſeveral Circumſtances of it, and thoſe neceſſary duties that are incumbent upon you in relation thereunto.

It is evident to daily experience, that while Afflictions are upon us, and while deliverances are freſh, they commonly have ſome good effect upon us: But as the Iron is no ſooner out of the fire, but it quickly returns to its old coldneſs, and hardneſs; ſo when the Affliction or Deliverance is paſt, we

we uſually forget them, count them common things, attribute them to Means and ſecond Cauſes: And ſo the Good that Mankind ſhould gather from them vaniſhes, and Men grow quickly to be but what they were before they came; their Sick-bed Promiſes are forgot, when the Sickneſs is over.

And therefore I ſhall give you an account of your Sickneſs, and of your Recovery: And let them never be forgotten by you; as often as thoſe Spots and Marks in your Face are reflected to your view from the Glaſs, as often as this Paper comes in your ſight, nay as often as you open your Eyes from ſleep, which were once cloſed, and likely never to open again; ſo often and more often remember your Sickneſs, and your Recovery, and the Admonitions that this Paper lends you from the Conſideration of both.

Firſt, therefore touching your late Sickneſs, I would have you remember theſe particulars: 1. The Diſeaſe it ſelf, in its own Nature, is now become ordinarily very Mortal, eſpecially to thoſe of your Age: Look upon even the laſt Years General Bill of Mortality, you will find near Two thouſand dead of that Diſeaſe the laſt Year, and had not God been very merciful to you, you might have been one of that number, with as great likelihood as any of them that died of that Diſeaſe: 2. It was a Contagious Diſeaſe, that ſecluded the acceſs of your neareſt Relations: 3. Your Sickneſs ſurpriſed you upon a ſuddain, when you ſeemed to be in your full ſtrength: 4. Your Sickneſs rendred you Noyſome to your ſelf, and all that were about you, and a Spectacle full of Deformity, by the exceſs of your Diſeaſe beyond moſt that are ſick thereof: 5. It was a fierce and violent Sickneſs, it did

not only take away the common ſupplies of nature, as digeſtion, ſleep, ſtrength. but it took away your Memory, your Underſtanding, and the very Senſe of your own Condition, or of what might be conducible to your good: All that you could do, was only to make your Condition more deſperate. in Caſe they that were about you, had not prevented it, and taken more Care for you, than you did or could for your ſelf: 6. Your Sickneſs was deſperate, inſomuch, that your Symptoms, and the violence of your Diſtemper, were without Example; and you were in the very next degree to abſolute Rottenneſs, Putrefaction, and Death it ſelf.

Look upon the foregoing Deſcription, and remember that ſuch was your Condition, you were as ſad a Picture of Mortality, and Corruption, as any thing but Death it ſelf could make: Remember it: and remember alſo, theſe enſuing Inſtructions, that may make that Remembrance profitable and uſeful to you.

Firſt, Remember that *Affliction cometh not forth of the duſt, nor doth trouble ſpring out of the ground*, Job 5. 6. But this terrible Viſitation, was ſent to you from the wiſe over-ruling Providence of God: It is he that bringeth down to the Grave, and bringeth up again. It is true, that this Diſeaſe may ſeem common, but you may and muſt know, that there was more than the common hand of God in ſending it upon you, in ſuch a manner, and ſuch a meaſure, and at ſuch a ſeaſon, when you were grown up to a Competent Age, and degree of Underſtanding, to make a due uſe of it. that you might ſee his Juſtice in Afflicting you, and his goodneſs in delivering you from ſuch a danger.

Secondly,

Secondly, Remember that Almighty God is of moſt infinite Wiſdom, Juſtice and Mercy, he hath excellent ends in all his Diſpenſations of his Providences: He never ſends an Affliction, but it brings a Meſſage with it, his Rod has a Voice; a Voice commanding us, to ſearch and try our ways, and to examine our ſelves whether there hath not been ſome great Sin againſt him, or neglect of Duty to him; a Voice Commanding us to repent of what is amiſs, to humble our ſelves under his mighty hand, to turn to him that ſtriketh us, to ſeek to him by Prayer for Deliverance, to depend upon him by Faith, in his Mercy and Power; to amend what is amiſs, to be more watchful, circumſpect, and obedient to him, in the future courſe of our Lives, to fear to offend him: And if a Man hear this Voice, God hath his end of Mercy and Goodneſs, and Man hath the Fruit, Benefit, and Advantage of his Affliction, and commonly a Comfortable iſſue of it: Read often and attentively the 33d Chapter of *Job*, from the beginning to the end.

Third, Remember how uncertain, and frail a Creature Man is, even in his ſeeming ſtrongeſt Age, and Conſtitution of Health; even then a Peſtilential Air, ſome evil humour in his Blood, ſome obſtruction it may be of a little Vein or Artery, a little Meat ill digeſted, and a thouſand ſmall occurrences may upon a ſuddain, without any conſiderable warning, plunge a Man into a deſperate and mortal Sickneſs, and bring a Man to the Grave. Remember this terrible Sickneſs ſeized upon you ſuddenly, pulled down your ſtrength quickly, and brought you to the very brink of the Grave: And though God hath recovered you, you know not how ſoon you may be brought into the like Condition.

Fourthly, Remember therefore, that you make and keep your Peace with God, and walk in hi fear in the days of Health; especially after so great a Deliverance and that for very many reasons: 1. You know not whether you may not be overtaken with sudden Death, and then it will be impossible for you to begin that Work: 2 If your have Sickness to give you warning of the approach of Death, yet you know not whether that Sickness may not suddenly take away your Senses, Memory, or Understanding, whereby you may be disabled to make your Peace with God, or to exercise any serious Thoughts concerning it: 3 But if that Sickness give you fair warning, and take not away your Understanding, yet your own Experience cannot chuse but let you know, that pain, and weakness, and distraction of Mind, and Impatience, and Unquietness, are the common attendants of a sick Bed, and render that season at least very difficult, then to begin that greatest and solemnest, and most important business of a Mans Life. 4. But if your Sickness be not so sharp, but that it leaves you Patience, and Attention of Mind for that great business, how do you know whether your Heart shall be inclined to it? Repentance and Conversion to God is his Gift, though it must be our endeavour: And though the merciful God, never refuseth a repenting, returning Offender; yet how can a Man that all the time of his Health hath neglected Almighty God, refused his invitations, and served his Lusts and his Sin, expect reasonably, that God in the time of Sickness, when the Man can serve his Sins no longer, will give him the Grace of Repentance?

Whatever you do therefore, be sure you make your Peace with God, and keep it in the days of your

your Health, especially after so great a deliverance from so desperate a Sickness.

Fifthly, Remember that your condition is never so low, but that God hath Power to deliver you, and therefore trust in him: But remember withal, that your Condition is never so safe and secure, but you are within the reach of his Power to bring you down: You are now by the Mercy of God recovered from a terrible Sickness, think not with your self that your turn is now served, and that you shall have no more need of him, and therefore that you may live as you list, and never regard your Duty to him: deceive not your self herein, remember that this Sickness, within two or three days brought you upon your Knees even from a seeming State of Health: The Case is the same still, nay much worse, if this Affliction make you not better; Almighty God called you to love, and serve, and obey him, by the still Voice of his Word, by the perswasion of your Friends, by the advices and reproofs of your Father; and when these were not so effectual, (as I know you now wish they had been) He sent a Messenger that spake lowder, that would be heard, even this terrible Sickness; and most certainly, if you have heard the Voice of this Rod, (as I am hopeful you have) and thereupon entirely turn to your Duty to God in all Sincerity and Obedience, it is the happiest Providence that ever befel you, and you will upon sound Conviction, conclude with the Prophet, *It was good for me that I was Afflicted:* But on the other side, if notwithstanding this Voice of the Rod, you shall after your recovery turn again to Folly and Vanity, and Excess, and harden your self against this Messenger; know for certain you are within the reach of the

Divine Juſtice and Power: *And if you walk contrary to him, he will walk contrary to you, and puniſh you yet ſeven times for your ſins*, Levit. 26. 24. I therefore give you that Counſel, that our Lord gave to him that he had healed, *Behold thou art made whole, go thy way and ſin no more, leſt a worſe thing befal thee.* There is no conteſting with Almighty God, he is ready and eaſie to be reconciled to the worſt of Men, upon Humiliation and true Repentance, but he is not to be Maſtered or Conquered by obſtinacy and oppoſition: *Who hath hardened himſelf againſt him and proſpered?* Job 9. 4.

Sixthly, I would have you remember, that Sickneſs as well as Death doth undeceive Mankind, and ſhews them where their true Wiſdom lies: When a young Man, eſpecially, is in the full career of his Vanity and Pleaſures, he thinks that Religion, and the Fear of God, and walking according to his Word, and the ſerious practice of Duties of Religion towards God, Prayer unto him, making our Peace with him, are pitiful, low, fooliſh, and inconſiderable matters, and that thoſe that practice them, are a ſort of brain-ſick, melancholy, unintelligent Perſons, that want wit or breeding, and underſtand not Themſelves or the World; that they are mere empty Fancies and Imaginations, Whimſies, Puritaniſm, and I know not what elſe: But on the other ſide, they think they are the brave Men that live ſplendidly, deny themſelves no Pleaſure, can Drink, and Roar, and Whore, and Debauch, and wear the neweſt Faſhions; it may be, this Gallant or Wiſe Man comes to be taken with a fit of Sickneſs, that tells him he muſt die, Death is at the door, his Glaſs is almoſt out, and but a few ſands left in it: And then the Man becomes quite

of

of another Judgment, he cries out of his former fooliſhneſs, he finds his Pleaſures and Intemperance and Exceſs, are not only perfect Follies, but Madneſs, Vexation, Torment; and Religion and Prayer to God, and Devotion and Peace with God, they are now in requeſt; and now nothing but declamations againſt thoſe Courſes, which in his Health he valued as the only Wiſdom; and nothing but promiſes of Amendment, and Reformation of Life and Devotion to God: ſo ſickneſs hath undeceived the Man, and given him a true and rectified Judgment concerning Wiſdom, and Folly, quite contrary to what he had before. Therefore I would have you to recollect your ſelf,(and if the violence of your Diſeaſe left you at any time the uſe of your Reaſon bethink your ſelf what opinion you then had of Intemperance, waſting of time, unlawful Luſt, or any of thoſe ſins that formerly pleaſed you in your Health, whether they did not appear to you in your Sickneſs, very vain, fooliſh, vexing things, ſuch as you wiſhed never to have been committed; and on the other ſide, what opinion you had in your Sickneſs touching Piety towards God, hearing of his Word, calling upon his Name, redeeming of Time, Modeſty, Temperance: Whether, thoſe actions of your Life paſt, that ſavoured of theſe, were not comfortable, and contenting to you in your Sickneſs; whether your purpoſes, and promiſes, and reſolutions of your ſick-bed, were not full of ſuch thoughts as theſe: If it pleaſe God to recover me, I will never be ſuch a fool as I have been, I will never drink to exceſs, miſpend my Time, I will never keep ſuch evil Company as I have done, I will be more devout towards God, more obedient to his Word, more obſervant of good Counſel, and

the like: And if you find it to be ſo, I muſt deſire you to remember that Affliction, is the School of Wiſdom, it rectifies Mens Judgments; and I muſt again deſire you, to keep your Judgment right ſtill, and let not the Recovery of your Health become the loſs of your Wits; but in your Health retain that Wiſdom your Sickneſs taught you, and practiſe what you then promiſed: *Remember he is the wiſeſt Man that provides for his latter end*, Deut. 32. 29.

Seventhly, Remember by your former Sickneſs, how pitiful an inconſiderable thing the Body of Man is; how ſoon is the ſtrength of it turned to faintneſs, and weakneſs? The beauty of it to uglineſs and deformity, the conſiſtency of it to putrefaction and rottenneſs; and then remember how fooliſh a thing it is, to be proud of ſuch a Carcaſs, to ſpend all, or the greateſt part of our time in trimming and adorning it, in ſtudying new Faſhions, and new Poſtures, and new Devices to ſet it out: In ſpending our Time and Proviſions in pampering it, in pleaſing the Appetite; and yet this is the chief buſineſs of moſt young Men of this Age: Learn therefore Humility and Lowlineſs, learn to furniſh thy Noble and Immortal part, thy Soul, with Religion, Grace, Knowledge, Vertue, Goodneſs, for that will retain it to Eternity: How miſerable is that Man's Condition, that whiles Sickneſs hath made his Body a deformed, weak, loathſome thing, ſin hath made his Soul as ugly, and deformed; The Grave will heal or cover the deformity of the former, but the Soul will carry its Ulcers and Deformity (without Repentance) into the next World: Learn and remember therefore, to have thy greateſt Care for thy Nobleſt part, furniſh it with Piety, Grace.

Grace, Knowledge, the Fear and Love of God, Faith in Chriſt: And as for thy Body, uſe it Decently, Soberly and Comely, that it may be a fit Inſtrument for thy Soul to uſe in this Life, but be not proud of it, nor make it thy chiefeſt Care and Buſineſs to adorn, much leſs defile it.

Eighthly, Remember to avoid Intemperance and ſinful Luſts: It is true, Sickneſs and Diſeaſes, and finally Death, are by the Laws and Conſtitutions of our Nature incident to all Mankind: But Intemperance, exceſs of Eating and Drinking, Drunkenneſs, Whoring, Uncleanneſs and Diſorder bring more Diſeaſes, eſpecially upon young Men, and deſtroy more young, ſtrong, healthy Men, than the Plague, or other Natural or Accidental Diſtempers: They weaken the Brain, corrupt the Blood, decay and diſtemper the Spirit, diſorder and putrefie the Humours, and make the Body a very bag full of Putrefaction: Some Diſeaſes are as it were ſpecifical, and appropriate to theſe Vices, other Diſeaſes are commonly occaſioned by them, by their Inflammation and Putrefaction of the Blood, and Humours: And all Diſeaſes, even thoſe that are Epidemical, Natural or Caſual, yet are rendred by thoſe Vices far more ſharp, laſting, malignant and incurable, by that ſtock of corrupted matter, they lodge in the Body to feed thoſe Diſeaſes, and that impotency that theſe Vices bring upon Nature to reſiſt them: Therefore if you ever expect to have as well a ſound Body, as a ſound Mind, carefully avoid Intemperance and Debauchery: The moſt temperate and ſober Perſons are ſubject to ſickneſs, weakneſs and diſeaſes, but the Intemperate can never be long without them.

And

And thus I have done with the proſpect of your Diſeaſe, and at leaſt many of theſe profitable uſes you may gather from the remembrance of it.

II. I ſhall now in the ſecond place, put you in remembrance of your Deliverance, touching which, you muſt remember; 1. That it was a great, eminent, and extraordinary deliverance, you need no other Evidence of it, than by looking back upon the greatneſs and ſeverity of your diſeaſe beforementioned: 2. It was a deliverance by the immediate Power and Mercy of that God, that ſent you the Viſitation.

Una eademque manus vulnus opemque tulit. If you had been delivered by the immediate efficacy of means, yet you are blind if you ſee not that the efficacy of means depends upon the Providence of God, it is he that provides it, and that makes means effectual. But in this deliverance God hath pleaſed to hedge up (as it were) your way from attributing it to means, and hath given you an indication, that it was done by his own immediate power, and that he delivered you above, and beyond means: It is true, you had a very able and careful Phyſician, and very great attendance and care was uſed about you: But when your Phyſician and all that were about you, began to deſpair of your recovery, when means proved ineffectual when the ſtrength of Nature was exhauſted and baffled by your diſeaſe, God Almighty upon a ſudden, and beyond expectation, relieved you, and as it were by his own hand brought you back from the very threſhold of the Grave: And this he did, that you and all about you, and all your Relations might take notice of it, that it was he that did it.

And

And thus Almighty God hath exerciſed towards you, two great Experiments, the firſt of his Severity, the ſecond of his Mercy: And as your Sickneſs and Rod had its Voice, (a lowd and ſharp Voice) ſo your recovery and deliverance hath its Voice alſo, a ſweet, gentle, and (I hope) effectual Voice; and I will as ſhortly as I can tell you what it is.

Firſt, Remember this benefit, remember it was reached out unto you, from the meer Power, Goodneſs, and Mercy of God: Remember evermore in your Heart and Soul, to be thankful to him for it: Remember as long as you live upon all occaſions, to acknowledge it; daily to return upon your Knees humble Thanks for it, to him that had regard to you, and remembred you in your low Eſtate, to him that forgave your Iniquities, and healed your Diſeaſe, to him that did this for you when all means failed, that did it for you, when you had not the underſtanding to call upon him for it; to him that did it for you, that deſerved it not, for you that had provoked him, and neglected him too much in the time of your Health. This God it was, that thus delivered you; Read often the 103 *Pſalm* attentively, and apply it to your own Condition, it will do you good.

2. Remember to acknowledge this goodneſs of God with all humility; your deliverance was not the purchaſe of your own power, nor of your own deſert, it was an Act of the free and undeſerved goodneſs of God; what Almighty God ſaid by *Moſes* unto the *Iſraelites*, Deut. 9. 4, 6. I ſhall ſay to you with ſome variation; underſtand therefore that the Lord thy God hath not given thee this deliverance for thy Righteouſneſs: No it is the meer effect of his own Goodneſs, and to give you opportunity

opportunity to praiſe him, and ſerve him, better than ever you did before.

3. Remember that although great deliverances, require your great acknowledgments, yet there is ſomewhat more required, namely, a real practical glorifying of God, by ordering your Converſation aright, by ſerving him, pleaſing him, obeying him, living to his honour: This Almighty God expects as well as praiſes, and acknowledgments: As the end of God in afflictions is to make men better, ſo the end of God in deliverances is to make Men better, and if we are not the better Men by both diſpenſations, we do as much as in us lies diſappoint Almighty God in his deſign, and diſappoint our ſelves of the benefit and advantage intended in both, and eaſily to be gained by both. This therefore is the Voice of this deliverance, it calls ſweetly, and gently indeed, but earneſtly and effectually for amendment of Life: And that upon two great and moving Arguments: 1. Your recovery and great deliverance calls for this from you, upon the account of common Ingenuity and good Nature, which obligeth a Man to be obſervant and dutiful to his Benefactor: God Almighty is the greateſt Benefactor, and hath manifeſted himſelf ſuch to you, upon a viſible and eminent account; this is engagement enough upon the account of common Humanity, to be dutiful and obedient to him: When therefore you are at any time by the Temptation of your own Corruption, or by the Sollicitation of evil Perſons, ſollicited to evil Actions: Conſider thus with your ſelf, Is this a becoming return to that God, that hath thus wonderfully delivered me? Is this the requital that I ſhall make to him for his Mercy? Shall I pleaſe a vain

Luſt,

Iuſt, or a vain Companion, and diſpleaſe the Great God of Heaven and Earth, that hath thus delivered me and done me more good, than all the World could ever do me, or than I can ever recompence? *Do ye thus requite the Lord, O ye fooliſh People, and unwiſe? Is not he thy Father that hath bought thee? Hath he not made thee, and eſtabliſhed thee?* Deut. 32.6.

2. This mercy calls for your obedience to God, in an eminent manner upon the account of common prudence and diſcretion; the benefit of your obedience to him will be your own, your own happineſs in this Life, and in that to come: There is no greater moral ſecurity againſt future dangers and troubles, than obedience, and reformation of Life upon great deliverances received; nor is there any greater invitation of new troubles and miſchiefs, than ingratitude, diſobedience, and great ſins after great mercies and deliverances: There is a kind of certain and infallible connexion between great ſins, after great mercies received, and great judgments to follow, *Ingentia beneficia, ingentia peccata, ingentia ſupplicia.* Again, as I have formerly told you, you do not know how ſoon you may ſtand in need of the ſame mercy, and goodneſs of God, which you have formerly found: You are never out of the reach of his power, and the neceſſity of his help; whatever you do, therefore never diſoblige him, by whom you Live, and whoſe extraordinary mercy you may ſtand in need of, you know not how ſoon: There is nothing in the World doth more provoke God, than neglect, forgetfulneſs, or wilful diſobedience after ſignal mercies: Theſe provoke the merciful God to a ſeverity of the higheſt kind, becauſe the ſweeteſt and moſt obliging call of mercy and deliverance is neglected: Read the firſt Chapter of the *Proverbs* attentively. And

And the merciful God hath given us a plain Rule and Method, how he may be ſerved, obeyed, and pleaſed, he hath given us a plain diſcovery of his Will in the Scriptures of both Teſtaments: Read that often, you have it by you, and you need not go far to find what is your Maker's Will, and what that Obedience is, that he requires as the return of this, and all other his Mercies: Yet I think it not amiſs, to mind you of ſome Particulars, that may be uſeful for you upon this Occaſion, and to direct you how particularly to improve it, and ſo order your future Life in ſome meaſure anſwerable to it.

1. I would have you make it your firſt Buſineſs, after your perfect Recovery, to conſider the Courſe of your Life paſt, ſince you came to the Age of Diſcretion, and ſee what hath been amiſs in it; whether you have not neglected Religion, and the Duties of it too much, as Prayer, hearing the Word Preached, obſerving the Lord's-day, receiving the Sacrament; whether you have not been guilty of Intemperance, exceſs of Drinking, Wantonneſs, Uncleanneſs, Idleneſs, miſpending your Time, and thoſe Supplies which have been allowed you for your Maintenance; whether you have not too much delighted in vain and ſinful, and diſorderly Company, Vanity and Expence in Apparel: And if any ſuch, or the like Faults have been, repent of them, be ſorry for them, reſolve againſt them; and let the future Courſe of your Life be amended in relation thereunto: I have before told you, that your heavenly Father hath forgiven you, and I have forgiven you, neither do I mention theſe things to upbraid you for them, but that you upon the Conſideration of what hath been amiſs

amiſs, may be thereby the better enabled to rectifie and ſet in order your future Life: If this be done and practiſed, I will reckon your late Sickneſs and Diſtemper one of the greateſt Bleſſings that ever befel you.

2. I would have you always keep a Habit of the fear of God upon your Heart: Conſider his Preſence, order your Life as in his Preſence; conſider that he always ſees you, beholds, and takes notice of you, and eſpecially whether you carry your ſelf anſwerable to this great Deliverance, it is one of thoſe Talents for which he will expect an Account from you.

3. I would have you frequently and thankfully conſider of the great Love of God in Jeſus Chriſt, whom he hath given to be the Inſtructor, and Governour, and Sacrifice for the Sins of you and all Mankind, through whom upon Repentance you have Aſſurance of the Remiſſion of your Sins and eternal Life; and frequently conſider how great an Ingagement this is upon you, and all Mankind, to live according to ſuch a Hope and ſuch a Mercy.

4. I would have you every Morning read a Portion of the Holy Scriptures, 'till you have read the Bible from the beginning to the end: Obſerve it well, read it reverently and attentively, ſet your Heart upon it, and lay it up in your Memory, and make it the Direction of your Life; it will make you a wiſe and a good Man: I have been acquainted ſomewhat with Men and Books, and have had long Experience in Learning, and in the World: There is no Book like the Bible for excellent Learning, Wiſdom, and Uſe, and it is want of Underſtanding in them, that think or ſpeak otherwiſe.

5. Every

5. Every Morning and every Evening upon your Knees with all reverence and attention of mind, return hearty thanks to God for his mercy to you, and particularly for this delierance, deſire his Grace to enable you to walk in ſome meaſure anſwerable to it; beg his Providence to protect you, his Grace to direct you, to keep you from evil actions, and evil perſons, and evil occurrences, beg his pardon for your ſin, and the continuance of his favour, always concluding with the Lord's Prayer.

6. Obſerve conſcionably the Lord's day to keep it Holy, avoid idle company, idle diſcourſe, recreations, and ſecular imployments upon that day; reſort twice that day to the publick Prayers and Sermon, come early to it, be attentive at it, keep your Eyes and Mind from roving after vain thoughts or objects; and ſpend the reſt of that day, that is free from neceſſary occaſions, in reading the Scriptures, or ſome good Books of Divinity.

7. Once every Term at leaſt come preparedly, and reverently to the Holy Communion, receive it with great reverence, and thankfulneſs, and due conſideration of the end of its inſtitution: Renew your Covenant with Almighty God, that you made in Baptiſm, and to live ſoberly, righteouſly, and godly before him, and beg his Grace and Strength to perform it.

And as thoſe directions before, do more ſpecially relate to Almighty God, and your deportment immediately towards him; ſo theſe that follow, more eſpecially relate to your ſelf and others, and your moral Converſation: Therefore,

8. Be very moderate in eating and drinking, drunkenneſs is the great vice of the time, and by drunkenneſs I do mean, not only groſs drunkenneſs, but

but alſo tipling, drinking exceſſively, and immoderately, or more than is convenient or neceſſary; avoid thoſe companies that are given to it, come not into thoſe places that are devoted to that beaſtly vice, namely, Taverns and Alehouſes, avoid and refuſe thoſe devices that are uſed to occaſion it, as drinking and pledging of Healths: Be reſolute againſt it, and when your reſolution is once known, you will never be ſolicited to it; The *Rechabites* were commanded by their Father not to drink Wine, and they obeyed it, and had a bleſſing for it; my Command to you is not ſo ſtrict, I allow you the moderate uſe of Wine and ſtrong Drink at your meals, I only forbid you the exceſs, or unneceſſary uſe of it, and thoſe places and companies, and artifices that are temptations to it.

9. Avoid wanton and laſcivious Actions, Speeches and Company: Read *Proverbs* 2. 5, 6, 7. 9. A Whore hunts for the precious life of a Man, and that vice brings a ruin with it to the Body, Soul, and Eſtate: If you cannot conveniently contain your ſelf in a ſingle life, and be of competent health, marry, but with the adviſe and counſel of your Father, while he lives.

10. Be frugal of your time (it is one of the beſt Jewels we have) and to that end avoid idleneſs, it conſumes your time, and lays you open to worſe inconveniences; let your recreations be healthy, and creditable, and moderate, without too much expence of time, or money: Go not to Stage-plays, they are a moſt profuſe waſting of time; value time by that eſtimate we would have of it, when we want it, what would not a ſick Man give for thoſe portions of time of health, that he had formerly improvidently waſted?

11. Be diligent in your Study and Calling; it is an act of duty to Almighty God, that requires it, and it will be your wiſdom and benefit; it will be a good expence of time, a prevention from a thouſand inconveniences and temptations, that otherwiſe will befal a man; it will furniſh you with knowledge and underſtanding, give you the advantage and means of a comfortable and plentiful ſubſiſtence, and make you a ſupport, comfort, and benefit to your Friends and Country.

12. Be frugal in your expences, live within the compaſs of that Exhibition, that God's Providence and your Father's abilities ſhall ſupply you withal; it is enough to maintain an honeſt provident man, and ten times more will not be enough for a profuſe mind: A frugal man will live comfortably and plentifully upon a little; and a profuſe man will live beggarly, neceſſitouſly, and in continual want, whatever his ſupplies be.

13. In all your expences conſider before hand: Can I not be well enough without this that I am about to buy? Is there an abſolute neceſſity of it? Can I not forbear 'till I am in a better Condition to compaſs it? If I buy or borrow can I pay? And when? And am I ſure? Will this expence hold out? How ſhall I bring about the next quarter, or the next year? If young men would but have the patience to conſider, and ask themſelves Queſtions of the like nature, it would make them conſiderate in their expences, and provident for the future, and theſe conſiderations will in a ſpecial manner concern you, in reſpect of your Father's great expences for you, which though I have forgiven, and forgotten, I would have you remember with Gratitude and Caution.

14. The

14. The vanity of young men in loving fine Cloaths, and new Fashions, and valuing themselves by them, is one of the most childish pieces of folly that can be, and the occasion of great profuseness and undoing of young men: Avoid curiosity and too much expensiveness in your apparel: Let your apparel be comely, plain, decent, cleanly, not curious or costly; it is the sign of a weak head piece, to be sick for every new Fashion, or to think himself the better in it, or the worse without it.

15. Be careful what company you consort with, and much more careful what persons you grow intimate with; chuse sober, wise, learned, honest, religious company, you will gain learning and wisdom, and improve your self in virtue and goodness, by conversing with them: But avoid debauched, foolish, intemperate, prodigal, atheistical, prophane company, as you would avoid a plague; they will corrupt and undo you, they are a sort of the most pitiful fools in the world, and familiar acquaintance and conversation with them, will endanger to make you like them.

16. Weigh and consider your words, before you speak them, and do not talk at random, or at a venture; let your words be few, and to the purpose, be more ready to hear others than to speak your self; accustom your self to speak leisurely, and deliberately, it will be a means to make you speak warily and considerately.

17. Be very careful to speak truth, and beware of lying; as lying is displeasing to God, so it is offensive to man, and always at the latter end returns to the reproach or disadvantage of him that useth it; it is an evidence of a weak and unmanly mind. Be careful that you believe not hastily strange news,

and ſtrange ſtories, and be much more careful that you do not report them, though at the ſecond hand, for if it prove an untruth, (as commonly ſtrange ſtories prove ſo) it brings an imputation of levity upon him that reports it, and poſſibly ſome diſadvantage to others.

18. Take heed what you promiſe, ſee that it be juſt, and honeſt, and lawful; and what is in your power, honeſtly and certainly to perform: And when you have ſo promiſed, be true to your word. It is for the moſt part the faſhion of inconſiderate and young men, (eſpecially that run in debt) they will with great aſſeverations, promiſe preciſe payment, at this or that day; when either they certainly know they cannot perform, or at leaſt have no probable aſſurance that they can do it; and when their turn is ſerved, they are as backward in performance, as they were before liberal in their promiſes. Breach of promiſes and lying are much of a nature, and commonly go together, and are arguments of an impotent and unmanly mind.

19. Beware of Gaming, it is the ſuddenneſt Conſumption of an Eſtate that can be, and that vice ſeldom goes alone; commonly debauchery of all kinds accompanies it: Beſides it makes a man of a wild, vaſt, and unſettled mind; and ſuch men are impatient of an honeſt calling, or of moderate or honeſt gain.

20. Run not into debt either for wares ſold, or Money borrowed; be content to want things that are not of abſolute neceſſity, rather than to run upon the ſcore; ſuch a man pays at the latter end a third part more than the Principal comes to, and is in perpetual ſervitude to his creditors, lives uncomfortably, is neceſſitated to increaſe his debts, to ſtop his creditors

creditors mouths, and many times falls into desperate Courses.

21. Be respectful to all, familiar and intimate with few, be Grateful to your Benefactors, especially to those, who under God, were instrumental for your good, in your late Sickness, and return your thanks to them; to your Father that spared no cost for your recovery, to your Doctor that was exceedingly diligent about you, to those that attended you in your Sickness, to those that together with your Father often prayed to God for your recovery, and for a blessing upon this Affliction, whose Names you shall in due time particularly know. But above all, to Almighty God, who not only provided and blessed the means, but saved, and delivered you above means, and when means failed.

22. Lastly, I shall conclude with one advice more, without the observance whereof my labour in writing this long Epistle will be probably fruitless: Be not wise in your own conceit, this is the unhappy error, and many times the ruin of young Men especially: They are usually rash, giddy, and inconsiderate, and yet extreamly confident of that which they have least reason to trust, namely, their own understanding, which renders them most reserved from them that are willing and best able to advise them, impatient of reproof, love to be flattered, and so become uncapable of good and wise Counsel, till their follies have reduced them to extream straits and inconveniencies; suspect therefore your own Judgment: Advise often with your Father, especially in all things of moment; be glad of his Counsel, and be contented and willing to follow it, and to guide your Life according to it; at least till ripeness of Age, Observation, and Experience,

perience, have enabled you better to adviſe your ſelf: This is an eaſie, and ready and cheap way of attaining Wiſdom, and avoiding of infinite inconveniences.

And thus I have in this long Epiſtle, given you the means how you may improve both your Sickneſs, and recovery, to the Glory of God, and your own benefit.

I ſhall therefore conclude with two Conſiderations, that may the more engage you to this uſe of both theſe Diſpenſations.

1. The danger is great, if Afflictions make not a Man more humble and dutiful, and the danger is yet greater, if great deliverances and mercies do not make a Man more thankful and obedient to God; becauſe it is the moſt obliging method that the Gracious God can uſe towards the Children of Men, for that end, in this Life: And the neglect of that invitation, adds Ingratitude and Contempt to the neglect of it.

2. The benefit that you will receive by making a good uſe of theſe two diſpenſations, in improving your dutifulneſs and obedience to God, will be ſingular and excellent: 1. It will make you a Wiſe Man, by making you a Good, and a Religious Man: Believe it from your Father, who will not deceive you; nay, believe it from a greater than your Father, the very Spirit of truth, who cannot deceive you; the true fear of God, is the only true Wiſdom: Read *Deut.* 4. 6. *Job* 28. 28. *Pſal.* 111. 10. *Prov.* 1. 7. *Prov.* 9. 10. *Eccleſ.* 12. 13. and very many more declarations there are of this great truth:

truth: 2. It will make you a happy Man, it will give you the Favour and Love of God, which is better than Life it ſelf: You ſhall have his Mercy to pardon you, his Providence to protect you, his Wiſdom to direct you, his goodneſs to bleſs you, and to forgive, and forget whatſoever hath heretofore been done amiſs by you: This will make all Conditions comfortable to you, whether Life or Death, Sickneſs or Health: By this means you may be a Comfort to your Father, a Support to your Brothers and Siſters, an Inſtrument of Good to your Country, and attain an Honeſt, Credible, and Competent Subſiſtence in this World, and an everlaſting Inheritance of Glory and Immortality in the World to come. Thus I have given you a large Letter of ſound and good Counſel: Set your Heart to it, and obſerve and remember it: We ſee how unſtable our Lives are, you nor I know not how ſoon, either or both of us may leave this World: It may be, this may be the laſt Paper of Advice that your Father may give you: But however it ſhall pleaſe God to deal with you or me, touching our continuance in this World, yet let me leave this with you, in the cloſe of this Letter: If I ſhall find that theſe directions are dutifully obſerved, I ſhall be ready from time to time, freely to adviſe and direct you; and as I have paſſed by your former Extravagancies, ſo I ſhall thereby have great aſſurance, that God hath bleſſed this Viſitation to you. But on the other ſide, if I ſhall find that you neglect my Counſels, that you make light of them, that you ſtill purſue thoſe Courſes that will certainly be bitterneſs in the end. I muſt then tell you, I ſhall pray for you, and be ſorry for you with my Heart; but I ſhall not eaſily be perſwaded to give

give any more Advices or Counſels, where I find them deſpiſed or neglected. In this Paper there are many things omitted, which might have been inſerted; but the conſtant Reading of the Holy Scriptures will ſupply unto you that defect: I have choſen only in this Paper to mention ſuch things which are ſeaſonable for you upon this occaſion. God Almighty hath not been wanting to you in Admonition, Correction, Mercy, and Deliverance; neither hath your Father been wanting to you in Education, Counſel, Care, and Expence: I pray God Amighty bleſs all unto you. This is the Prayer of,

Your Loving Father,

MATTHEW HALE.

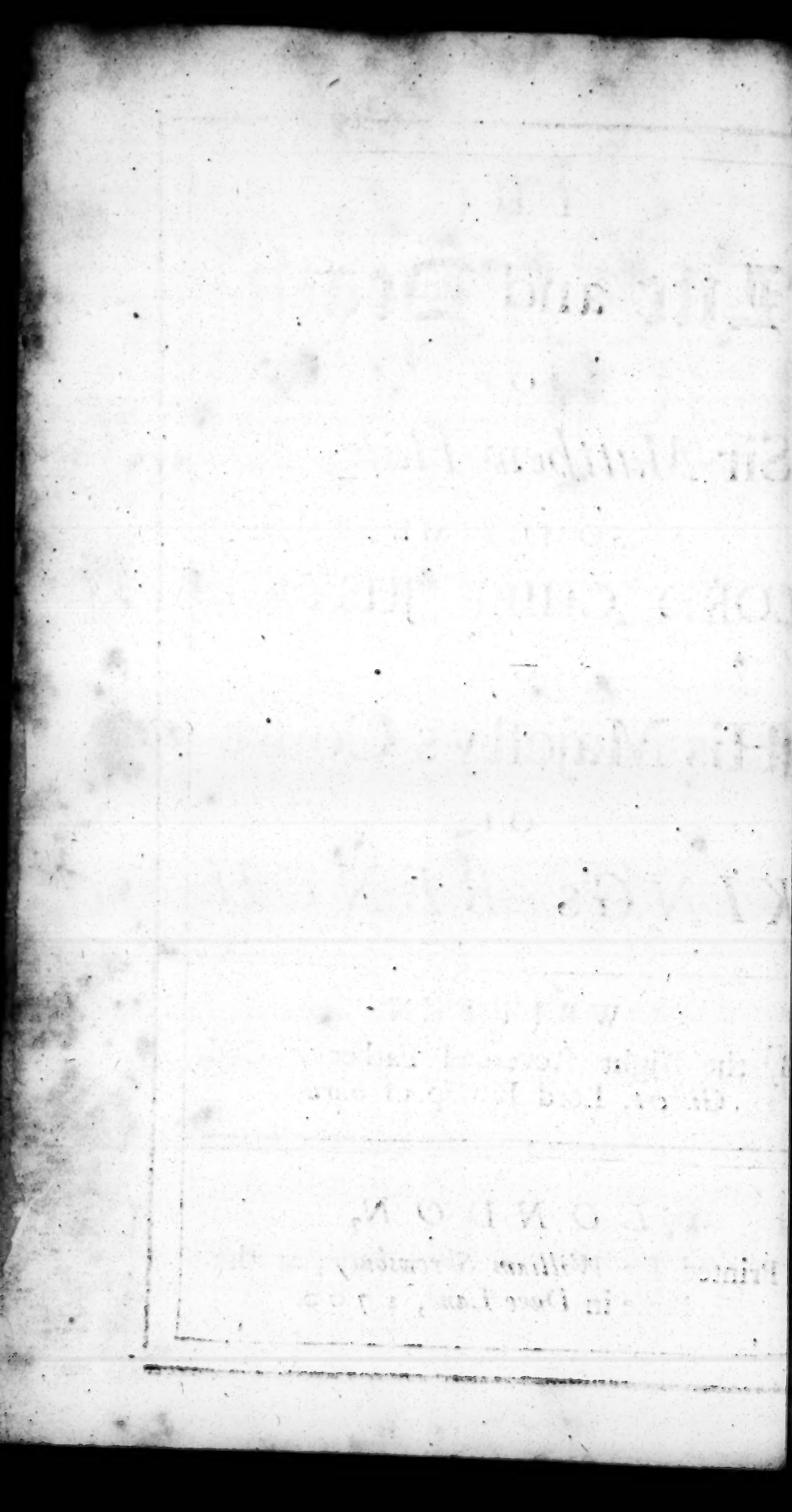
FINIS.

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THE
Life and Death
OF
Sir *Matthew Hale*, Kt.
SOMETIME
LORD CHIEF JUSTICE
OF
His Majesty's Court
OF
KING's BENCH.

WRITTEN
By the Right Reverend Father in God, *Gilbert*, Lord Bishop of *Sarum*.

LONDON,
Printed for *William Shrowsbury*, at the Bible in *Duke-Lane*, 1700.



THE PREFACE.

NO Part of History is more instructive and delighting, than the Lives of Great and Worthy Men: The shortness of them invites many Readers, and there are such little and yet Remarkable Passages in them, too inconsiderable to be put in a general History of the Age in which they lived; that all People are very desirous to know them. This makes Plutarch's *Lives be more generally Read than any of all the Books which the Ancient* Greeks *or* Romans *writ.*

But the Lives of Hero's and Princes, are commonly filled with the account of the great things done by them, which do rather belong to a general, than a particular History; and do rather amuse the Reader's Fancy with a splendid shew of greatness, than offer him what is really so useful to himself: And indeed the Lives of Princes are either writ with so much Flattery, by those who intended to merit by it at their own hands, or others concerned in them: Or with so much spite, by those who being ill used by them, have Revenged themselves on their Memory, that there is not much to be built on them: And though the

ill Nature of many, makes what is Satyrically writ to be generally more read and believed, than when the Flattery is visible and course, yet certainly Resentment may make the Writer corrupt the Truth of History, as much as Interest: And since all Men have their blind sides and commit Errors, he that will industriously lay these together, leaving out, or but slightly touching what should be set against them, to balance them, may make a very good Man appear in very bad Colours: So upon the whole matter, there is not that reason to expect either much Truth, or great Instruction, from what is written concerning Hero's or Princes; for few have been able to imitate the Patterns Suetonius *set the World in writing the Lives of the* Roman *Emperors, with the same freedom that they had led them: But the Lives of Private Men, tho' they seldom entertain the Reader with such a variety of Passages as the other do; Yet certainly they offer him things that are more imitable, and do present Wisdom and Vertue to him, not only in a far* Idea, *which is often look'd on as a piece of the Invention or Fancy of the Writer, but in such plain and familiar Instances, as do both direct him better and persuade him more; And there are not such temptations to biass those who writ them, so that we may generally depend more on the truth of such relations as are given in them.*

In the Age in which we live, Religion and Vertue have been proposed and defended with such advantages, with that great force of Reason, and those

those perſuaſions, that they can hardly be matched in former Times; yet after all this, there are but few much wrought on by them, which perhaps ſtews from this, among other Reaſons, that there are not ſo many excellent Patterns ſet out, as might both in a ſhorter, and more effectual manner recommend that to the World, which Diſcourſes do but coldly; The Wit and Style of the Writer being more conſidered than the Argument which they handles; and therefore the propoſing Vertue and Religion in ſuch a Model, may perhaps operate more than the Perſpective of it can do, and for the Hiſtory of Learning, nothing does ſo preſerve and improve it, as the writing the Lives of thoſe who have been Eminent in it.

There is no Book the Ancients have left us, which might have informed us more than Diogenes Laertius *his Lives of the Philoſophers; if he had had the Art of writing equal to that great Subject which he undertook, for if he had given the World ſuch an account of them, as* Gaſſendus *has done of* Peiresk, *how great a Stock of Knowledge might we have had, which by his unskilfulneſs is in a great meaſure loſt; Since we muſt now depend only on him, becauſe we have no other, or better Author, that has written on that Argument.*

For many Ages there were no Lives writ but by Monks, *through whoſe Writings there runs ſuch an inſurable humour, of telling incredible and inimitable paſſages, that little in them can be believed*

or proposed as a Pattern: Sulpitius Severus *and* Jerom *shewed too much credulity in the Lives they writ, and raised* Martin *and* Hilarion *beyond what can be reasonably believed: after them,* Socrates, Theodoret, Sozomen, *and* Palladius, *took a pleasure to tell uncouth Stories of the* Monks *of* Thebais, *and* Nitria; *and those who came after them, scorned to fall short of them, but raised their Saints above those of former Ages, so that one would have thought that undecent way of writing could rise no higher; and this humour infected even those who had otherwise a good Sense of things, and a just Apprehension of Mankind, as may appear in* Matthew Paris, *who though he was a Writer of great Judgment and Fidelity, yet he has corrupted his History with much of that Alloy: But when emulation and envy rose among the several Orders or Houses, then they improved in that Art of making Romances, instead of writing Lives, to that pitch, that the World became generally much scandalized with them: The* Franciscans *and* Dominicans *tried who could say the most extravagant things of the Founders, or other Saints of their Orders; and the* Benedictines, *who thought themselves possest of the Belief of the World, as well as of its Wealth, endeavour'd all that was possible still to keep up the Dignity of their Order, by outlying the others all they could; and whereas here or there, a Miracle, a Vision, or Trance, might have occurred in the Lives of former Saints; now every Page was full of those wonderful things.*

Nor

Nor has the humour of writing in such a manner, been quite laid down in this Age, though more awakned and better enlightned, as appears in the Life of Philip Nerius, *and a great many more: And the* Jesuits *at* Antwerp, *are now taking care to load the World with a vast and voluminous Collection of all those Lives that has already swelled to eleven Volumes in Folio, in a small Print, and yet being digested according to the Kalender, they have yet but ended the Month of* April: *The Life of Monsieur* Renty *is writ in another manner, where there are so many excellent passages, that he is justly to be reckoned amongst the greatest Patterns that* France *has afforded in this Age.*

But while some have nourished Infidelity, and a scorn of all Sacred Things by writing of those good Men in such a strain, as makes not only what is so related to be disbelieved, but creates a distrust of the Authentical Writings of our most Holy Faith; others have fallen into another extream in writing Lives too jejunely, swelling them up with trifling Accounts of the Childhood and Education, and the Domestick or Private Affairs of those Persons of whom they write, in which the World is little concern'd; by these they become so flat, that few care to read them, for certainly those Transactions are only fit to be deliver'd to Posterity, that may carry with them some useful piece of knowledge to after-times.

I have now an Argument before me, which will afford indeed only a short History, but will contain in it as great a Character, as perhaps can be given of any in this Age; since there are few Instances of more Knowledge and greater Vertues meeting in one Person. I am upon one account (besides many more) unfit to undertake it, because I was not at all known to him, so I can say nothing from my own Observation, but upon second thoughts I do not know whether this may not qualifie me to write more impartially, though perhaps more defectively, for the knowledge of extraordinary persons does most commonly bias those, who were much wrought on by the tenderness of their Friendship for them, to raise their Stile a little too high when they write concerning them: I confess I knew him as much as the looking often upon him could amount to. The last Year of his being in London, *he came always on* Sundays *(when he could go abroad) to the Chappel of the* Rolls, *where I then Preached: In my life I never saw so much Gravity tempered with that sweetness, and set off with so much vivacity as appear'd in his looks, and behaviour, which disposed me to a Veneration for him, which I never had for any with whom I was not acquainted: I was seeking an opportunity of being admitted to his Conversation; but I understood that between a great want of health, and a multiplicity of Busines, which his Imployment brought upon him, he was Master of so little of his time, that I stood in doubt whether I might presume*

to

to rob him of any of it, and so he left the Town, before I could resolve on desiring to be known to him.

My ignorance of the Law of England, *made me also unfit to write of a Man, a great part of whose Character as to his Learning is to be taken from his Skill in the Common Law, and his Performance in that. But I shall leave that to those of the same Robe: Since if I engaged much in it, I must needs commit many errors, writing of a Subject that is foreign to me.*

The occasion of my undertaking this, was given me first by the earnest desires of some that have great power over me, who having been much obliged by him, and holding his Memory in high estimation, thought I might do it some right by Writing his Life; I was then engaged in the History of the Reformation, so I promised that, as soon as that was over, I should make the best use I could of such Informations and Memorials as should be brought me.

This I have now performed in the best manner I could, and have brought into method all the parcels of his Life, or the branches of his Character, which I could either gather from the Informations that were brought me, or from those that were familiarly acquainted with him, or from his Writings: I have not applied any of the false Colours with which Art, or some forced Eloquence might furnish me in Writing concerning him; but have endeavour'd to set him out in the same simplicity

plicity in which he lived: I have ſaid little of his Domeſtick Concerns, ſince though in theſe he was a great Example, yet it ſignifies nothing to the World, to know any particular Exerciſes, that might be given to his Patience; and therefore I ſhall draw a Veil over all theſe, and ſhall avoid ſaying any thing of him, but what may afford the Reader ſome profitable Inſtruction: I am under no temptations of ſaying any thing, but what I am perſwaded is exactly true, for where there is ſo much excellent truth to be told, it were an inexcuſable fault to corrupt that, or prejudice the Reader againſt it by the mixture of falſehoods with it.

In ſhort as he was a great example while he lived, ſo I wiſh the ſetting him thus out to Poſterity, in his own true and native Colours, may have its due influence on all perſons; but more particularly on thoſe of that profeſſion, whom it more immediately concerns, whatever on the Bench or at the Bar.

THE

THE LIFE and DEATH OF Sir *Matthew Hale*, Kt. LATE Lord Chief Justice of *England*.

MATTHEW HALE, was Born at *Alderly* in *Glocester-shire*, the first of *November*, 1609. His Grand-Father was *Robert Hale*, an Eminent Clothier in *Wotton-under-edge*, in that County, where he and his Ancestors had lived for many Descents; and they had given several parcels of Land for the use of the Poor, which are enjoyed by them to this day. This *Robert* acquired an Estate of Ten thousand Pound, which he divided almost equally amongst his Five Sons; besides the Portions he gave his Daughters, from whom a numerous Posterity has sprung. His Second Son was *Robert Hale*, a Barrister of *Lincolns-Inn*; he Married *Joan*, the Daughter of *Matthew Poyntz* of *Alderly*, Esquire, who was descended from that Noble

Noble Family of the *Poyntz*'s of *Acton* : Of this Marriage there was no other Iſſue but this one Son. His Grand-father by his Mother was his God-father ; and gave him his own Name at his Baptiſm. His Father was a Man of that ſtrictneſs of Conſcience, that he gave over the practice of the Law, becauſe he could not underſtand the reaſon of giving Colour in Pleadings, which as he thought was to tell a Lye, and that, with ſome other things commonly practiſed, ſeemed to him contrary to that exactneſs of Truth and Juſtice which became a Chriſtian, ſo that he withdrew himſelf from the Inns of Court to live on his Eſtate in the Country. Of this I was informed by an Ancient Gentleman, that lived in a Friendſhip with his Son for Fifty Years, and he heard Judge *Jones*, that was Mr. *Hale*'s Contemporary, declare this in the *Kings-Bench*. But as the care he had to ſave his Soul, made him abandon a Profeſſion in which he might have raiſed his Family much higher, ſo his Charity to his Poor Neighbours, made him not only deal his Alms largely among them while he lived, but at his Death he left (out of his ſmall Eſtate which was but 100 *l.* a Year) 20 *l.* a Year to the Poor of *Wotton*, which his Son confirmed to them with ſome Addition, and with this Regulation, that it ſhould be diſtributed among ſuch poor Houſe-keepers, as did not receive the Alms of the Pariſh ; for to give it to thoſe, was

was only as he uſed to ſay, to ſave ſo much money to the Rich, who by Law were bound to relieve the Poor of the Pariſh.

Thus he was deſcended rather from a good, than a Noble Family, and yet what was wanting in the inſignificant Titles of high Birth, and Noble Blood, was more than made up in the true worth of his Anceſtors. But he was ſoon deprived of the Happineſs of his Father's Care and Inſtruction, for as he loſt his Mother before he was Three Years Old, ſo his Father died before he was Five; ſo early was he caſt on the Providence of God. But that unhappineſs was in a great meaſure made up to him: For after ſome oppoſition made by Mr. *Thomas Poynt*z, his Uncle by his Mother, he was committed to the Care of *Anthony Kingſcot*, of *Kingſcot*, Eſquire, who was his next Kinſman, after his Uncles by his Mother.

Great Care was taken of his Education, and his Guardian intended to breed him to be a Divine, and being inclined to the way of thoſe then called Puritans, put him to ſome Schools that were Taught by thoſe of that Party, and in the Seventeeth Year of his Age, ſent him to *Magdalen-Hall* in *Oxford*, where *Obadiah Sedgwick* was his Tutor. He was an extraordinary Proficient at School, and for ſome time at *Oxford*. But the Stage-Players coming thither, he was ſo much corrupted by ſeeing many Plays, that he almoſt wholly forſook his

Studies. By this he not only loſt much time, but found that his Head came to be thereby filled with ſuch vain Images of things, that they were at beſt unprofitable, if not hurtful to him; and being afterwards ſenſible of the Miſchief of this, he reſolved upon his coming to *London*, (where he knew the opportunities of ſuch Sights would be more frequent and Inviting) never to ſee a Play again, to which he conſtantly adhered.

The Corruption of a Young Man's Mind in one particular, generally draws on a great many more after it, ſo he being now taken off from following his Studies, and from the Gravity of his deportment, that was formerly Eminent in him, far beyond his Years, ſet himſelf to many of the Vanities incident to Youth, but ſtill preſerved his Purity, and a great Probity of Mind. He loved fine Clothes, and delighted much in Company: And being of a ſtrong and robuſt Body, he was a great Maſter at all thoſe Exerciſes that required much Strength. He alſo learned to Fence, and handle his Weapons, in which he became ſo expert, that he worſted many of the Maſters of thoſe Arts: but as he was exerciſing himſelf in them, an Inſtance appear'd, that ſhewed a good Judgment, and gave ſome hopes of better things. One of his Maſters told him he could Teach him no more, for he was now better at his own Trade than himſelf was. This Mr. *Hale* lookt on

on as flattery: So to make the Maſter diſcover himſelf, he promis'd him the Houſe he lived in, for he was his Tenant, if he could hit him a blow on the Head: and bad him do his beſt, for he would be as good as his word: ſo after a little Engagement, his Maſter being really Superiour to him, hit him on the Head, and he performed his Promiſe; for he gave him the Houſe freely: and was not unwilling at that rate to learn ſo early, to diſtinguiſh flattery from plain and ſimple Truth.

He was now ſo taken up with Martial matters, that inſtead of going on in his deſign of being a Scholar, or a Divine, he reſolved to be a Soldier; and his Tutor *Sedgwick* going into the *Low Countries*, Chaplain to the Renowned Lord *Vere*, he reſolved to go along with him, and to trail a Pike in the Prince of *Orange*'s Army; but a happy ſtop was put to this Reſolution, which might have proved ſo fatal to himſelf, and have deprived the Age of the great Example he gave, and the uſeful Services he afterwards did his Country. He was engaged in a Suit of Law with Sir *Will. Whitmore*, who laid claim to ſome part of his Eſtate, and his Guardian being a Man of a retired Temper, and not made for Buſineſs, he was forced to leave the *Univerſity*, after he had been Three Years in it, and go to *London* to ſollicite his own Buſineſs. Being recommended to Serjeant *Glanvil* for his Councellor, and he obſerving

in

in him a clear apprehenſion of things, and a ſolid Judgment, and a great fitneſs for the Study of the Law, took pains upon him to perſwade him to forſake his thoughts of being a Soldier, and to apply himſelf to the Study of the Law: and this had ſo good an effect on him, that on the Eighth of *November*, 1629. when he was paſt the Twentieth Year of his Age, he was admitted into *Lincolns-Inn*: and being then deeply ſenſible how much time he had loſt, and that Idle and Vain things had over-run and almoſt corrupted his Mind, he reſolved to Redeem the time he had loſt, and followed his Studies with a diligence that could ſcarce be believed, if the ſignal effects of it did not gain it Credit. He Studied for many Years at the rate of Sixteen Hours a Day: He threw aſide all fine Clothes, and betook himſelf to a plain Faſhion, which he continued to uſe in many points to his dying day.

But ſince the honour of reclaiming him from the idleneſs of his former Courſe of Life, is due to the Memory of that Eminent Lawyer, Serjeant *Glanvil*, and ſince my Deſign in Writing is to propoſe a Pattern of Heroick Vertue to the World, I ſhall mention one paſſage of the Serjeant which ought never to be forgotten. His Father had a fair Eſtate, which he intended to ſettle on his Elder Brother, but he being a Vicious young Man, and there appearing no hopes of his Recovery, he ſettled it on him, that

that was his Second Son. Upon his Death, his Eldeſt Son finding that what he had before looked on, as the threatnings of an Angry Father, was now but too certain, became Melancholy, and that by degrees wrought ſo great a change on him, that what his Father could not prevail in while he Lived, was now effected by the ſeverity of his laſt Will, ſo that it was now too late for him to change in hopes of an Eſtate that was gone from him. But his Brother obſerving the reality of the change, reſolved within himſelf what to do: ſo he called him, with many of his Friends together to a Feaſt, and after other Diſhes had been ſerved up to the Dinner, he ordered one that was covered to be ſet before his Brother, and deſired him to uncover it; which he doing, the Company was ſurprized to find it full of Writings. So he told them that he was now to do, what he was ſure his Father would have done, if he had lived to ſee that happy Change, which they now all ſaw in his Brother: And therefore he freely reſtored to him the whole Eſtate. This is ſo great an inſtance of a Generous and juſt Diſpoſition, that I hope the Reader will eaſily pardon this Digreſſion, and that the rather ſince that Worthy Serjeant was ſo Inſtrumental in the happy Change that followed in the courſe of Mr. *Hale's* Life.

Yet he did not at firſt break off from keeping too much Company with ſome vain People,

till a ſad Accident drove him from it, for he with ſome other young Students, being invited to be merry out of Town, one of the Company called for ſo much Wine, that notwithſtanding all that Mr. *Hale* could do to prevent it, he went on in his Exceſs till he fell down as dead before them, ſo that all that were preſent, were not a little affrighted at it, who did what they could to bring him to himſelf again: This did particularly affect Mr. *Hale*, who thereupon went into another Room, and ſhutting the Door, fell on his Knees, and prayed earneſtly to God, both for his Friend, that he might be reſtored to Life again; and that himſelf might be forgiven for giving ſuch Countenance to ſo much Exceſs: and he Vowed to God, that he would never again keep Company in that manner, nor drink a Health while he Lived: His Friend recovered, and he moſt Religiouſly obſerved his Vow, till his Dying day. And though he was afterwards preſs'd to drink Healths, particularly the *Kings*, which was ſet up by too many as a diſtinguiſhing mark of Loyalty, and drew many into great exceſs after His *Majeſty's* happy Reſtauration; but he would never diſpenſe with his Vow, though he was ſometimes roughly treated for this, which ſome hot and indiſcreet Men called Obſtinacy.

This wrought an entire change on him: now he forſook all vain Company and divided himſelf

himſelf between the Duties of Religion, and the Studies of his Profeſſion; in the former he was ſo regular, that for Six and Thirty years time, he never once failed going to Church on the Lord's-day: This Obſervation he made when an Ague firſt interrupted that conſtant Courſe, and he reflected on it, as an Acknowledgment of God's great Goodneſs to him, in ſo long a Continuance of his Health.

He took a ſtrict account of his time, of which the Reader will beſt judge, by the Scheme he drew for a Diary which I ſhall inſert Copied from the Original, but I am not certain when he made it; it is ſet down in the ſame Simplicity in which he writ it for his own private uſe.

MORNING.

I. *To lift up the Heart to God in thankfulneſs for reneving my Life.*

II. *To renew my Covenant with God in Chriſt.*

1. *By renewed Acts of Faith receiving Chriſt, and rejoycing in the height of that Relation.*

2. *Reſolution of being one of his People doing him Allegiance.*

III. *Adoration and Prayer.*

IV. *Setting a Watch over my own Infirmities and Paſſions over the Snares laid in our way.*

Perimus licitis.

Day Imployment.

There muſt be an Imployment, two kinds.

I. *Our Ordinary Calling, to ſerve God in it. It is a Service to Chriſt though never ſo mean.* Coloſ. 3. *Here* Faithfulneſs, Diligence, Chearfulneſs. *Not to overlay my ſelf with more Buſineſs than I can bear.*

II. *Our Spiritual Imployments: Mingle ſomewhat of God's Immediate Service in this day.*

Refreſhments.

I. *Meat and Drink, Moderation ſeaſoned with ſomewhat of God.*

II. *Recreations.* 1. *Not our Buſineſs.* 2. *Suitable. No Games, if given to Covetouſneſs or Paſſion.*

If alone.

I. *Beware of wandring, vain, Luſtful Thoughts; fly from thy ſelf rather than entertain theſe.*

II. *Let thy Solitary Thoughts be profitable, view the Evidences of thy Salvation, the State of thy Soul, the coming of Chriſt, thy own Mortality, it will make thee Humble and Watchful.*

Company.

Do good to them. Uſe God's Name Reverently. Beware of leaving an ill Impreſſion of ill Example. Receive good from them if more knowing.

EVENING.

Caſt up the Accounts of the Day. If ought be amiſs Beg pardon. Gather Reſolution of more Vigilance.

lance. If well, Bleſs the Mercy and Grace of God that hath Supported thee.

Theſe Notes have an Imperfection in the Wording of them, which ſhews they were only intended for his Privacies. No wonder a Man who ſet ſuch rules to himſelf, became quickly very Eminent and remarkable.

Noy the Attorney General, being then one of the greateſt Men of the Profeſſion, took early notice of him, and called often for him, and directed him in his Study, and grew to have ſuch friendſhip for him, that he came to be called *Young Noy*. He paſſing from the extream of Vanity in his Apparel, to that of neglecting himſelf too much, was once taken when there was a Preſs for the *King*'s Service, as a fit Perſon for it; for he was a ſtrong and well built Man: But ſome that knew him coming by, and giving notice who he was, the Preſs Men let him go. This made him return to more decency in his Clothes, but never to any Superfluity or Vanity in them.

Once as he was Buying ſome Cloth for a new Suit, the Draper, with whom he differed about the Price, told him he ſhould have it for nothing, if he would promiſe him an Hundred pound when he came to be Lord Chief Juſtice of *England*; to which he anſwered, That he could not with a good Conſcience wear any Man's Cloth, unleſs he payed for it; ſo he ſatisfied

the Draper, and carried away the Cloth. Yet that ſame Draper lived to ſee him advanced to that ſame dignity.

While he was thus improving himſelf in the Study of the Law, he not only kept the Hours of the *Hall* conſtantly in *Term time*, but ſeldom put himſelf out of Commons in *Vacation-time*, and continued then to follow his Studies with an unwearied diligence; and not being ſatisfied with the Books writ about it, or to take things upon truſt, was very diligent in ſearching all Records: Then did he make divers Collections out of the Books he had Read, and mixing them with his own Obſervations, digeſted them into a Common-place Book; which he did with ſo much Induſtry and Judgment, that an Eminent *Judge* of the *Kings-Bench*, borrowed it of him when he was Lord Chief *Baron*: He unwillingly lent it, becauſe it had been Writ by him before he was called to the *Bar*, and had never been throughly reviſed by him ſince that Time, only what alterations had been made in the Law by ſubſequent Statutes, and Judgments, were added by him as they had happened: but the *Judge* having peruſed it, ſaid, that though it was compoſed by him ſo early, he did not think any Lawyer in *England* could do it better, except he himſelf would again ſet about it.

He was ſoon found out by that great and Learned Antiquary Mr. *Selden*, who though much ſuperiour to him in Years, yet came to have

have ſuch a liking of him, and of Mr. *Vaughan* who was afterwards Lord Chief Juſtice of the *Common-Pleas*, that as he continued in a cloſe Friendſhip with them while he lived, ſo he left them at his Death, two of his four Executors.

It was this Acquaintance that firſt ſet Mr. *Hale* on a more enlarged purſuit of Learning, which he had before confined to his own Profeſſion, but becoming as great a Maſter in it, as ever any was, very ſoon; he who could never let any of his time go away unprofitably, found leiſure to attain to as great a variety of knowledge, in as Comprehenſive a manner as moſt Men have done in any Age.

He ſet himſelf much to the Study of the *Roman* Law, and though he liked the way of Judicature in *England* by Juries, much better than that of the *Civil* Law, where ſo much was truſted to the *Judge*; yet he often ſaid, that the true Grounds and Reaſons of Law were ſo well delivered in the *Digeſts*, that a Man could never underſtand Law as a Science ſo well as by ſeeking it there, and therefore lamented much that it was ſo little Studied in *England*.

He looked on readineſs in *Arithmetick*, as a thing which might be uſeful to him in his own Imployment, and acquired it to ſuch a Degree, that he would often on the Sudden, and afterwards on the *Bench*, reſolve very hard Queſtions, which had puzled the beſt Accomptants about Town. He reſted not here, but Studied the

Algebra both *Specioſa* and *Numeroſa*, and went through all the other *Mathematical* Sciences, and made a great Collection of very excellent Inſtruments, ſparing no coſt to have them as exact, as Art could make them. He was alſo very Converſant in *Philoſophical* Learning, and in all the curious Experiments, and rare Diſcoveries of this Age: And had the new Books Written on thoſe Subjects ſent him from all Parts, which he both read and examined ſo Critically, that if the Principles and Hypotheſes which he took firſt up, did any way prepoſſeſs him, yet thoſe who have differed moſt from him, have acknowledged, that in what he has writ concerning the *Torricellian* Experiment, and of the Rarefaction and Condenſation of the Air; he ſhews as great an Exactneſs, and as much Subtilty in the Reaſoning he builds on them, as thoſe Principles to which he adhered could bear. But indeed it will ſeem ſcarce Credible, that a Man ſo much imployed, and of ſo ſevere a temper of Mind, could find leiſure to Read, Obſerve and Write ſo much of theſe Subjects as he did. He called them his Diverſions, for he often ſaid when he was weary with the Study of the Law, or Divinity, he uſed to Recreate himſelf with *Philoſophy* or the *Mathematicks*; To theſe he added great skill in *Phyſick*, *Anatomy*, and *Chirurgery*: And he uſed to ſay *no Man cou'd be abſolutely Maſter in any Profeſſion, without having ſome skill in other Sciences*; for beſides

beſides the Satisfaction he had in the knowledge of theſe things, he made uſe of them often in his Imployments. In ſome Examinations he would put ſuch Queſtions to *Phyſicians* or *Chirurgeons*, that they have profeſſed the *College* of *Phyſicians* could not do it more Exactly; by which he diſcovered great Judgment, as well as much Knowledge in theſe things: And in his Sickneſs he uſed to Argue with his *Doctors* about his Diſtempers, and the Methods they took with them, like one of their own Profeſſion; which one of them told me he underſtood, as far as *Speculation* without *Practice* could carry him.

To this he added great Searches into *Ancient Hiſtory*, and particularly into the rougheſt and leaſt delightful part of it, *Chronology*. He was well acquainted with the Ancient *Greek Philoſophers*, but want of occaſion to uſe it, wore out his Knowledge of the *Greek* Tongue; and though he never Studied the *Hebrew* Tongue, yet by his great Converſation with *Selden*, he underſtood the moſt curious things in the *Rabbinical* Learning.

But above all theſe, he ſeemed to have made the Study of *Divinity* the chief of all others, to which he not only directed every thing elſe, but alſo arrived at that pitch in it, that thoſe who have read, what he has Written on theſe Subjects, will think, they muſt have had moſt of his Time and Thoughts. It may ſeem Extravagant

travagant, and almoſt Incredible, that one man in no great Compaſs of years, ſhould have acquired ſuch a variety of Knowledge; and that in Sciences that require much Leiſure and Application. But as his Parts were quick, and his Apprehenſions lively, his Memory great, and his Judgment ſtrong; ſo his Induſtry was almoſt Indefatigable. He roſe always betimes in the Morning, was never idle, ſcarce ever held any diſcourſe about News, except with ſome few in whom he confided entirely. He entered into no Correſpondence by Letters except about neceſſary Buſineſs, or matters of Learning, and ſpent very little time in Eating or Drinking; for as he never went to publick Feaſts ſo he gave no Entertainments but to the Poor; for he followed our *Saviour's* direction (of feaſting none but theſe) literally: And in Eating and Drinking, he obſerved not only great Plainneſs and Moderation, but lived ſo *Philoſophically*, that he always ended his Meal, with an Appetite: So that he loſt little time at it; (that being the only Portion which he grudged himſelf) and was diſpoſed to any Exercise of his mind, to which he thought fit to apply himſelf, immediately after he had Dined: By theſe means he gained much time, that is otherwiſe unprofitably waſted.

He had alſo an admirable equality in the temper of his mind, which diſpoſed him for whatever Studies he thought fit to turn himſelf to;

And

And ſome very uneaſie things which he lay under for many years, did rather engage him to than diſtract him from his Studies.

When he was called to the *Bar*, and began to make a Figure in the World, the late unhappy Wars broke out, in which it was no eaſie thing, for a Man to preſerve his Integrity, and to live Securely, free from great Danger and trouble. He had read the Life of *Pomponius Atticus*, Writ by *Nepos*, and having obſerved, that he had paſſed through a time of as much Diſtraction, as ever was in any Age or State, from the Wars of *Marius* and *Sylla*, to the beginnings of *Auguſtus* his Reign, without the leaſt blemiſh on his Reputation, and free from any Conſiderable Danger, being held in great Eſteem by all Parties, and courted and favoured by them: He ſet him as a Pattern to himſelf, and obſerving that beſides thoſe Virtues which are neceſſary to all Men, and at all times, there were two things that chiefly preſerved *Atticus*, the one was his *engaging in no Faction*, and *meddling in no publick Buſineſs*, the other was his *conſtant favouring and relieving thoſe that were loweſt*, which was aſcribed by ſuch as prevailed to the Generoſity of his Temper, and procured him much Kindneſs from thoſe on whom he had exerciſed his Bounty, when it came to their turn to Govern: He reſolved to guide himſelf by thoſe Rules as much as was poſſible for him to do.

He not only avoided all publick Imployment, but the very talking of News, and was always both Favourable and Charitable to thoſe who were depreſt, and was ſure never to provoke any in particular, by cenſuring or reflecting on their Actions, for many that have Converſed much with him, have told me they never heard him once ſpeak ill of any Perſon.

He was imployed in his practice by all the *King*'s party: He was aſſigned Councel to the *Earl* of *Strafford*, and Arch-Biſhop *Laud*, and afterwards to the Bleſſed *King* himſelf, when brought to the infamous Pageantry of a Mock-Tryal, and offered to plead for him with all the Courage, that ſo Glorious a Cauſe ought to have inſpired him with, but was not ſuffered to appear, becauſe the *King* refuſing, as he had good Reaſon, to ſubmit to the Court, it was pretended none could be admitted to ſpeak for him. He was alſo Councel for the *Duke* of *Hamilton*, the *Earl* of *Holland*, and the *Lord Capel*: His Plea for the former of theſe I have publiſhed in the *Memoirs* of that *Duke*'s Life. Afterwards alſo being Councel for the *Lord Craven*, he pleaded with that force of Argument, that the then Attorny General, threatned him for appearing againſt the Government; to whom he anſwered, He was *Pleading in defence of thoſe Laws, which they declared they would maintain and preſerve, and he was doing his duty*

to

to his Client, ſo that he was not to be daunted with Threatnings.

Upon all theſe occaſions he had diſcharged himſelf with ſo much Learning, Fidelity, and Courage, that he came to be generally imployed for all that Party; Nor was he ſatisfied to appear for their juſt Defence in the way of his Profeſſion, but he alſo relieved them often in their Neceſſities; which he did in a way that was no leſs Prudent than Charitable, conſidering the dangers of that time: For he did often depoſite conſiderable Summs in the hands of a Worthy Gentleman of the *King*'s Party, who knew their Neceſſities well, and was to Diſtribute his Charity according to his own Diſcretion, without either letting them know, from whence it came, or giving himſelf any Account to whom he had given it.

Cromwell, ſeeing him poſſeſt of ſo much Practice, and he being one of the Eminenteſt Men of the Law, who was not at all afraid of doing his duty in thoſe Critical times, reſolved to take him off from it, and raiſe him to the *Bench*.

Mr. *Hale* ſaw well enough the Snare laid for him, and though he did not much conſider the prejudice it would be to himſelf, to Exchange the eaſie and ſafer profits he had by his Practice, for a *Judge*'s place in the *Common-Pleas*, which he was required to accept of, yet he did deliberate more on the Lawfulneſs of taking a Commiſſion from Uſurpers; but having conſi-

dered

dered well of this, he came to be of Opinion, *that it being abſolutely neceſſary, to have Juſtice and Property kept up at all times: It was no Sin to take a Commiſſion from Uſurpers, if he made no Declaration of his acknowledging their Authority*, which he never did: He was much urged to Accept of it by ſome Eminent Men of his own Profeſſion, who were of the *Kings* Party, as Sir *Orlando Bridgman*, and Sir *Geoffery Palmer*; and was alſo ſatisfied concerning the lawfulneſs of it, by the Reſolution of ſome famous *Divines*, in particular Dr. *Sheldon*, and Dr. *Henchman*, who were afterwards promoted to the Sees of *Canterbury* and *London*.

To theſe were added the importunities of all his Friends, who thought that in a time of ſo much Danger and Oppreſſion, it might be no ſmall Security to the Nation, to have a Man of his Integrity and Abilities on the *Bench*: And the Uſurpers themſelves held him in that Eſtimation, that they were glad to have him give a Countenance to their Courts, and by promoting one that was known to have different Principles from them, affected the Reputation of honouring and truſting Men of Eminent Virtues, of what perſwaſion ſoever they might be, in relation to publick Matters.

But he had greater Scruples concerning the proceeding againſt Felons, and putting Offenders to Death by that Commiſſion, ſince he thought the Sword of Juſtice belonging only by right

right to the lawful Prince, it ſeemed not warrantable to proceed to a Capital Sentence by an Authority derived from Uſurpers; yet at firſt he made diſtinction between common and ordinary Felonies, and offences againſt the State, for the laſt he would never meddle in them; for he thought theſe might be often legal and warrantable Actions, and that the putting men to Death on that account was Murder; but for the ordinary Felonies, he at firſt was of Opinion that it was as neceſſary even in times of Uſurpation to Execute Juſtice in thoſe caſes, as in the matters of property; But after the *King* was Murthered, he laid by all his Collections of the Pleas of the *Crown*, and that they might not fall into ill hands, he hid them behind the Wainſcotting of his Study, for he ſaid *there was no more occaſion to uſe them, till the King ſhould be again reſtored to his Right*, and ſo upon his *Majeſty's* Reſtauration he took them out, and went on in his deſign to perfect that great Work.

Yet for ſome time after he was made a *Judge*, when he went the Circuit, he did ſit on the Crown Side, and Judged Criminals: But having conſidered farther of it, he came to think that it was at leaſt better not to do it; and ſo after the Second or Third Circuit, he refuſed to ſit any more on the Crown Side, and told plainly the reaſon, for in matters of Blood, he was always to chooſe the ſafer Side: And indeed

deed he had ſo carried himſelf in ſome Tryals, that they were not unwilling he ſhould withdraw from medling farther in them, of which I ſhall give ſome Inſtances.

Not long after he was made a *Judge*, which was in the year 1653, when he went the Circuit, a Tryal was brought before him at *Lincoln*, concerning the Murder of one of the Townſmen, who had been of the *King*'s Party, and was killed by a Soldier of the *Garriſon* there. He was in the Fields with a Fowling-piece on his Shoulder, which the Soldier ſeeing, he came to him and ſaid, It was contrary to an Order which the *Protector* had made, *That none who had been of the King's Party ſhould carry Arms*, and ſo he would have forced it from him: But as the other did not regard the Order, ſo being ſtronger than the Soldier, he threw him down, and having beat him, he left him: The Soldier went into the Town, and told one of his Fellow-Soldiers how he had been uſed, and got him to go with him, and lie in wait for the Man that he might be revenged on him. They both watched his coming to Town, and one of them went to him to demand his Gun, which he refuſing, the Soldier ſtruck at him, and as they were ſtrugling, the other came behind, and ran his Sword into his Body, of which he preſently died. It was in the time of the Aſſizes, ſo they were both Tried: Againſt the one there was no Evidence of forethought Felony, ſo he

was

was only found guilty of Man-Slaughter, and Burnt in the Hand; but the other was found guilty of Murder: And though Colonel *Whaley* that Commanded the *Garriſon*, came into the Court and urged, *That the Man was Killed only for diſobeying the Protectors Orders*, and *that the Soldier was but doing his Duty*; yet the *Judge* regarded both his Reaſons and Threatnings very little, and therefore he not only gave Sentence againſt him, but ordered the Execution to be ſo ſuddenly done, that it might not be poſſible to procure a Reprieve, which he believed would have been obtained, if there had been time enough granted for it.

Another occaſion was given him of ſhewing both his Juſtice and Courage, when he was in another Circuit; he underſtood that the *Protector* had ordered a *Jury* to be returned for a Tryal in which he was more than ordinarily concerned: upon this information, he Examined the *Sheriff* about it, who knew nothing of it, for he ſaid he referred all ſuch things to the under-*Sheriff*, and having next asked the under-*Sheriff* concerning it, he found the *Jury* had been returned by order from *Cromwell*. Upon which he ſhewed the Statute, that all *Juries* ought to be returned by the *Sheriff* or his lawful Officer; And this not being done according to Law, he diſmiſſed the *Jury*, and would not try the Cauſe: Upon which the *Protector* was highly diſpleaſed with him, and at his return

from the Circuit, he told him in Anger *he was not fit to be a Judge*, to which all the Answer he made was, *That it was very true.*

Another thing met him in the Circuit, upon which he resolved to have proceeded severely: Some *Anabaptists* had rushed into a Church, and had disturbed a Congregation, while they were receiving the Sacrament, not without some Violence. At this he was highly offended, for he said *it was intolerable for Men, who pretended so highly to liberty of Conscience, to go and disturb others; Especially those who had the Incouragement of the Law on their side:* But these were so supported by some great *Magistrates* and *Officers*, that a stop was put to his proceedings; upon which he declared, he would *meddle no more with the Tryals on the Crown side.*

When *Penruddock*'s Tryal was brought on, there was a special Messenger sent to him requiring him to assist at it. It was in Vacation time, and he was at his Country-House at *Alderly:* He plainly refused to go, and said, *the four Terms, and two Circuits, were enough, and the little Interval that was between, was little enough for their private affairs*, and so he excused himself; he thought it was not necessary to speak more clearly, but if he had been urged to it, he would not have been affraid of doing it.

He was at that time chosen a *Parliament-Man*, (for there being then no House of Lords, *Judges* might have been chosen to sit in the House of Commons)

Commons) and he went to it, on design to obstruct the Mad and Wicked projects, then on foot, by two parties, that had very different Principles and ends.

On the one hand, some that were perhaps more sincere, yet were really Brain-sick, designed they knew not what, being resolved to pull down a *Standing Ministery*, the *Law*, and *property* of *England*, and all the *Ancient Rules* of this Government, and set up in its room an *Indigested Enthusiastical Scheme*, which they called the *Kingdom of Christ*, or of his *Saints*; many of them being really in expectation, that one day or another Christ would come down, and sit among them, and at least they thought to begin the *Glorious Thousand Years*, mentioned in the *Revelation*.

Others at the same time, taking advantages from the Fears and Apprehensions, that all the sober Men of the Nation were in, least they should fall under the Tyranny of a distracted sort of People, who to all their other ill Principles, added *great Cruelty*, which they had Copied from those at *Munster* in the former Age, Intended to improve that opportunity to raise their own Fortunes and Families. Amidst these, *Judge Hale* steered a middle Course; for as he would engage for neither side, so he with a great many more Worthy Men came to *Parliaments*, more out of a design to *hinder Mischief*, than to *do much Good*; wisely foreseeing, that

the Inclinations for the *Royal Family* were daily growing ſo much, that in time the diſorders then in Agitation, would ferment to that happy Reſolution, in which they determined in *May*, 1660. And therefore all that could be then done, was to oppoſe the ill deſigns of both Parties, the *Enthuſiaſts* as well as the *Uſurpers*. Among the other extravagant Motions made in this *Parliament*, one was, To *deſtroy all the Records in the Tower*, and to *ſettle the Nation on a New Foundation*; So he took this Province to himſelf to ſhew the *Madneſs* of this Propoſition, the *Injuſtice* of it, and the *Miſchiefs* that would follow on it, and did it with ſuch Clearneſs, and ſtrength of Reaſon, as not only ſatisfied all ſober Perſons (for it may be ſuppoſed that was ſoon done) but ſtopt even the Mouths of the frantick People themſelves.

Thus he continued adminiſtering Juſtice till the *Protector* died, but then he both refuſed the Mournings that were ſent to him and his Servants for the Funeral, and likewiſe to accept of the New Commiſſion that was offered him by *Richard*, and when the reſt of the *Judges* urged it upon him, and imployed others to preſs him to accept of it, he rejected all their Importunities, and ſaid, *He could Act no longer under ſuch Authority*.

He lived a private Man till the *Parliament* met that called home the *King*, to which he was returned Knight of the Shire from the County

County of *Gloceſter.* It appeared at that time how much he was beloved and Eſteemed in his Neighbourhood, for though another who ſtood in Competition with him had ſpent near a Thouſand pounds to procure Voices, a great Sumn to be imployed that way in thoſe days, and he had been at no coſt, and was ſo far from ſoliciting it, that he had ſtood out long againſt thoſe who preſs'd him to appear, and he did not promiſe to appear till Three days before the Election, yet he was preferred. He was brought thither almoſt by Violence, by the Lord (now Earl of) *Berkely*, who bore all the Charge of the Entertainments on the day of his Election, which was conſiderable, and had engaged all his Friends and Intereſt for him: and whereas by the Writ, the Knight of a Shire muſt be *Miles gladio cinctus*, and he had no Sword, that Noble Lord girt him with his own Sword during the Election, but he was ſoon weary of it, for the Imbroidery of the Belt did not ſute well with the plainneſs of his Clothes: and indeed the Election did not hold long, for as ſoon as ever he came into the Field, he was choſen by much the greater Number, though the Poll continued for three or four days.

In that *Parliament* he bore his ſhare, in the happy period then put to the *Confuſions* that threatned the utter Ruin of the Nation, which contrary to the Expectations of the moſt Sanguine, ſetled in ſo ſerene and quiet a manner,

that thoſe who had formerly built ſo much on their Succeſs, calling it an *Anſwer* from Heaven to their ſolemn Appeals, to the Providence of God, were now not a little Confounded, to ſee all this turned againſt themſelves, in an inſtance much more extraordinary than any of thoſe were, upon which they had built ſo much. His great Prudence and Excellent Temper led him to think, that the ſooner an Act of Indemnity were paſſed, and the fuller it were of Graces and Favours, it would ſooner ſettle the Nation, and quiet the minds of the People; and therefore he applied himſelf with a particular care to the framing and carrying it on: In which it was viſible he had no concern of his own, but merely his love of the Publick that ſet him on to it.

Soon after this, when the Courts in *Weſtminſter Hall* came to be ſettled, he was made *Lord Chief Baron*; and when the *Earl* of *Clarendon* (then *Lord Chancellor*) delivered him his Commiſſion in the Speech he made according to the Cuſtom on ſuch Occaſions, he expreſſed his *Eſteem* of him in a very ſingular manner, telling him among other things, *that if the King could have found out an honeſter and fitter Man for that Employment, he would not have advanced him to it*; and *that he had therefore preferred him, becauſe he knew none that deſerved it ſo well.* It is ordinary for Perſons ſo promoted to be Knighted, but he deſired to avoid having that Honour

nour done him, and therefore for a considerable time declined all opportunities of waiting on the *King*, which the *Lord Chancellor* observing, sent for him upon Business one day, when the *King* was at his House, and told His *Majesty* there was his modest *Chief Baron*, upon which, he was unexpectedly Knighted.

He continued Eleven years in that place, Managing the Court, and all Proceedings in it, with singular Justice. It was observed by the whole Nation, how much he raised the Reputation and Practice of it: And those who held Places, and Offices in it, can all declare, not only the Impartiality of his Justice, for that is but a common Virtue, but his Generosity, his vast Diligence, and his great exactness in Tryals. This gave occasion to the only Complaint that ever was made of him, *That he did not dispatch Matters quick enough*; but the great care he used, to put Suits to a final End, as it made him slower in deciding them; so it had this good Effect, that Causes tryed before him, were seldom if ever tryed again.

Nor did his Administration of Justice lie only in that Court: He was one of the principal *Judges* that sate in *Cliffords-Inn*, about settling the difference between Landlord and Tenant, after the *Dreadful Fire* of *London*. He being the first that offered his Service to the *City*, for accommodating all the differences that might have arisen about the Rebuilding it, in which

he behaved himſelf to the ſatisfaction of all Perſons concerned; So that the ſuddain and quiet Building of the *City*, which is juſtly to be Reckoned one of the *Wonders* of the Age, is in no ſmall Meaſure due to the great care, which he and Sir *Orlando Bridgeman*, (then *Lord Chief Juſtice* of the *Common-Pleas*, afterwards *Lord Keeper* of the Great Seal of *England*) uſed, and to the Judgment they ſhewed in that Affair: ſince without the Rules then laid down, there might have otherwiſe followed ſuch an endleſs train of vexatious Suits, as might haye been little leſs chargeable than the Fire it ſelf had been. But without detracting from the Labours of the other *Judges*, it muſt be acknowledged that he was the moſt inſtrumental in that great Work; for he firſt by way of Scheme, contrived the Rules upon which he and the reſt proceeded afterwards; in which his readineſs at *Arithmetick*, and his skill in *Architecture*, were of great uſe to him.

But it will not ſeem ſtrange that a *Judge* behaved himſelf as he did, who at the Entry into his Employment, ſet ſuch excellent Rules to himſelf, which will appear in the following Paper, Copied from the Original under his own hand.

Things

Things Neceſſary to be Continually had in Remembrance.

I. *That in the Adminiſtration of Juſtice, I am intruſted for God, the King and Country; and therefore,*

II. *That it be done,* 1. *Uprightly,* 2. *Deliberately,* 3. *Reſolutely.*

III. *That I reſt not upon my own Underſtanding or Strength, but Implore and reſt upon the Direction and Strength of God.*

IV. *That in the Execution of Juſtice, I carefully lay aſide my own Paſſions, and not give way to them, however provoked.*

V. *That I be wholly intent upon the Buſineſs I am about, remitting all other Cares and Thoughts, as unſeaſonable and Interruptions.*

VI. *That I ſuffer not my ſelf to be prepoſſeſſed with any Judgment at all, till the whole Buſineſs and both Parties be heard.*

VII. *That I never engage my ſelf in the beginning of any Cauſe, but reſerve my ſelf unprejudiced till the whole be heard.*

VIII. *That in Buſineſs Capital, though my Nature prompt me to Pity; yet to conſider, that there is alſo a Pity due to the Country.*

IX. *That I be not too Rigid in Matters purely Conſciencious, where all the harm is Diverſity of Judgment.*

X. *That*

X. *That I be not biassed with Compassion to the Poor, or Favour to the Rich, in point of Justice.*

XI. *That Popular, or Court Applause, or Distaste, have no Influence into any thing I do in point of Distribution of Justice.*

XII. *Not to be solicitous what Men will say or think, so long as I keep my self exactly according to the Rule of Justice.*

XIII. *If in Criminals it be a measuring Cast, to incline to Mercy and Acquittal.*

XIV. *In Criminals that consist merely in words, when no more harm ensues, Moderation is no Injustice.*

XV. *In Criminals of Blood, if the Fact be Evident, Severity is Justice.*

XVI. *To abhor all private Solicitations, of what kind soever, and by whomsoever, in matters Depending.*

XVII. *To charge my Servants,* 1. *Not to interpose in any Business whatsoever,* 2. *Not to take more than their known Fees,* 3. *Not to give any undue precedence to Causes,* 4. *Not to recommend Counsel.*

XVIII. *To be short and sparing at Meals, that I may be the fitter for Business.*

He would never receive *private Addresses* or *Recommendations* from the greatest Persons in any matter, in which *Justice* was Concerned. One of the first Peers of *England* went once to his Chamber and told him, *that having a Suit in*

Law to be tried before him, he was then to ac-
aint him with it, that he might the better un-
rſtand it, when it ſhould come to be heard in
urt. Upon which the *Lord Chief Baron* in-
rupted him, and ſaid *he did not deal fairly to*
me to his Chamber about ſuch Affairs, for he
ver received any Information of Cauſes but in
n Court, where both Parties were to be heard
ke; ſo he would not ſuffer him to go on:
hereupon his Grace (for he was a Duke)
ent away not a little diſſatisfied, and com-
ined of it to the King, as a *Rudeneſs* that
s not to be endured. But his *Majeſty* bid
m *content himſelf that he was no worſe uſed,*
d ſaid, *he verily believed he would have uſed*
nſelf no better, if he had gone to ſolicite him
any of his own Cauſes.

Another paſſage fell out in one of his Cir-
its, which was ſomewhat cenſured as an Af-
ſtation of an unreaſonable ſtrictneſs, but it
wed from his Exactneſs to the Rules he had
himſelf: A Gentleman had ſent him a Buck
his Table, that had a Trial at the *Aſſizes*;
when he heard his Name, he asked *if he was*
the ſame Perſon that had ſent him Veniſon,
d finding he was the ſame, he told him, *he*
ld not ſuffer the Trial to go on, till he had paid
for his Buck; to which the Gentleman an-
ered, *that he never ſold his Veniſon, and that*
had done nothing to him, which he did not do
very Judge that had gone that Circuit; which
was

was confirmed by several Gentlemen then present: but all would not do, for the *Lord Chief Baron* had learned from *Solomon*, that *a gift perverteth the ways of Judgment*, and therefore he would not suffer the Trial to go on, till he had paid for the Present; upon which the Gentleman withdrew the Record: and at *Salisbury* the *Dean* and *Chapter* having according to the Custom presented him with six Sugar-Loaves in his Circuit, he made his Servants pay for the Sugar before he would try their Cause.

It was not so easie for him to throw off the importunities of the Poor, for whom his *Compassion* wrought more powerfully than his regard to Wealth and Greatness, yet when Justice was concerned, even *that* did not turn him out of the way. There was one that had been put out of a place for some ill behaviour, who urged the *Lord Chief Baron to set his Hand to a Certificate, to restore him to it*, or *provide him with another*: But he told him plainly *his Fault was such that he could not do it*; the other pressed him vehemently, and fell down on his knees, and begged it of him with many Tears; but finding that could not prevail, he said *he should be utterly Ruined if he did it not*; and *he should Curse him for it every day*. But that having no Effect, then he fell out into all the reproachful Words that Passion and Despair could inspire him with: to which, all the Answer the *Lord Chief Baron* made, was, *that he could very well bear all his Reproaches*,

Reproaches, but he could not for all that ſet his hand to his Certificate. He ſaw he was Poor, ſo he gave him a large Charity and ſent him away.

But now he was to go on after his Pattern, *Pomponius Atticus*, ſtill to favour and relieve them that were loweſt; So beſides great Charities to the *Nonconformiſts*, who were then as he thought too hardly uſed, he took great care to cover them all he could, from the Severities ſome deſigned againſt them, and diſcouraged thoſe who were inclined to ſtretch the Laws too much againſt them: He lamented the differences that were raiſed in this Church very much, and according to the Impartiality of his Juſtice, he blamed ſome things on both ſides, which I ſhall ſet down with the ſame freedom that he ſpake them. He thought many of the *Nonconformiſts*, had merited highly in the Buſineſs of the *King*'s *Reſtauration*, and at leaſt deſerved that the *terms of Conformity* ſhould not have been made *ſtricter* than they were before the War. There was not then that *dreadful* proſpect of *Popery*, that has appeared ſince: But that which afflicted him moſt was, that he ſaw the *Heats* and *Contentions* which followed upon thoſe *different Parties* and *Intereſts*, did take People off from the *Indiſpenſable things* of Religion and ſlackned the *Zeal* of other ways *Good Men* for the ſubſtance of it, ſo much being ſpent about *External* and *Indifferent* things. It alſo gave advantages to *Atheiſts*, to treat the moſt

Sacred

Sacred Points of our holy Faith, as *Ridiculous*, when they saw the Professors of it contend, so *fiercely*, and with such *bitterness* about *lesser Matters*: He was much offended at all those Books that were written, to expose the *contrary Sect* to the scorn and contempt of the Age in a wanton and petulant Style; He thought such Writers wounded the *Christian Religion*, through the sides of those who differed from them: While a sort of lewd People, who having assumed to themselves the Title of the *Wits* (though but a very few of them have a right to it) took up from both hands, what they had said, to make one another shew Ridiculous, and from thence perswaded the World to laugh at both, and at *all Religion* for their sakes. And therefore he often wished there might be some Law, to make all *Scurrility* or *Bitterness* in Disputes about Religion *Punishable*. But as he lamented the proceedings too rigorously against the *Nonconformists*, so he declared himself always of the side of the *Church of England*, and said those of the *Separation* were good Men, but they had *narrow Souls*, who would break the Peace of the Church about such *inconsiderable Matters*, as the points in difference were.

He scarce ever meddled in State Intrigues, yet upon a Proposition that was set on foot by the *Lord Keeper Bridgeman*, for a *Comprehension* of the more moderate Dissenters, and a *limited Indulgence* towards such as could not be brought within

within the Comprehenſion, he diſpenſed with his Maxime, of *avoiding to engage in Matters of State.* There were ſeveral Meetings upon that occaſion. The *Divine* of the Church of *England* that appeared moſt conſiderably for it, was Doctor *Wilkins*, afterwards promoted to the Biſhoprick of *Cheſter*, a Man of as great a Mind, as true a Judgment, as eminent Virtues, and of as good a Soul, as any I ever knew. He being determined as well by his excellent temper, as by his Foreſight and Prudence, by which he early perceived the great Prejudices that Religion received, and the vaſt Dangers the *Reformation* was like to fall under by thoſe Diviſions; ſet about that project with the Magnanimity that was indeed peculiar to himſelf, for though he was much Cenſured by many of his own ſide, and ſeconded by very few, yet he puſhed it as far as he could: After ſeveral Conferences with two of the Eminenteſt of the *Presbyterian* Divines, *Heads* were agreed on, ſome *Abatements* were to be made, and *Explanations* were to be accepted of. The particulars of that project being thus concerted, they were brought to the *Lord Chief Baron*, who put them in form of a Bill, to be preſented to the next Seſſion of Parliament.

But two Parties appeared vigorouſly againſt this Deſign, the one was of ſome zealous Clergymen, who thought it below the *Dignity* of the Church to *alter* Laws, and *change* Settlements

ments for the ſake of ſome whom they Eſteemed *Schiſmaticks*: They alſo believed, it was better to keep them out of the Church, than bring them into it, ſince a *Faction* upon that would ariſe in the Church, which they thought might be more *Dangerous* than the *Schiſm* it ſelf was. Beſides they ſaid, if ſome things were now to be changed in compliance with the humour of a Party, as ſoon as that was done, another Party might demand other *Conceſſions*, and there might be as good Reaſons invented for theſe as for thoſe: Many ſuch Conceſſions might alſo ſhake thoſe of our own Communion, and tempt them to forſake us, and go over to the Church of *Rome*, pretending that we *changed* ſo often, that they were thereby inclined to be of a Church that was *conſtant* and *true* to her ſelf. Theſe were the Reaſons brought, and chiefly inſiſted on againſt all *Comprehenſion*; and they wrought upon the *greater part* of the Houſe of Commons, ſo that they paſſed a Vote againſt the receiving of any Bill for that Effect.

There were others that oppoſed it upon very different ends: They deſigned to ſhelter the *Papiſts* from the Execution of the Law, and ſaw clearly that nothing could bring in *Popery* ſo well as a *Toleration*. But to tolerate *Popery* bare-faced, would have ſtartled the Nation too much; ſo it was Neceſſary to hinder all the Propoſitions for Union, ſince the keeping up the Differences was the beſt Colour they could find,

find, for getting the Toleration to pass only as a slackning the Laws against Dissenters, whose Numbers and Wealth made it adviseable to have some regard to them; and under this pretence *Popery* might have crept in more covered, and less regarded: So these Councels being more acceptable to some *concealed Papists* then in great Power, as has since appeared but too Evidently, the whole Project for *Comprehension* was let fall, and those who had set it on foot, came to be looked on with an ill Eye, as *secret Favourers* of the Dissenters, *Underminers* of the Church, and every thing else that Jealousie and distaste could cast on them.

But upon this occasion the *Lord Chief Baron*, and Dr. *Wilkins*, came to contract a firm and familiar Friendship; and the *Lord Chief Baron* having much Business, and little time to spare, did to enjoy the other the more, what he had scarce ever done before, he went sometimes to Dine with him. And though he lived in great Frendship with some other eminent Clergy-Men, as Dr. *Ward*, Bishop of *Salisbury*; Dr. *Barlow*, Bishop of *Lincoln*; Dr. *Barrow*, late Master of *Trinity* College; Dr. *Tillotson*, Dean of *Canterbury*; and Dr. *Stillingfleet*, Dean of St. *Paul*'s, (Men so well known and so much Esteemed, that as it was no wonder the *Lord Chief Baron* valued their Conversation highly, so those of them that are yet alive will think it no lessening of the Character they are so deservedly

in, That they are reckoned among *Judge Hales's* Friends) yet there was an intimacy and freedom in his converſe with Biſhop *Wilkins* that was ſingular to him alone. He had during the late Wars, lived in a long and entire Friendſhip with the Apoſtolical Primate of *Ireland*, Biſhop *Uſher*: Their curious ſearches into Antiquity, and the Sympathy of both their Tempers led them to a great Agreement almoſt in every thing. He held alſo great Converſation with Mr. *Baxter*, who was his Neighbour at *Acton*, on whom he looked as a Perſon of great Devotion and Piety, and of a very ſubtile and quick Apprehenſion: their Converſation lay moſt in *Metaphyſical* and *Abſtracted Idea's* and *Schemes*.

He looked with great Sorrow on the Impiety and Atheiſm of the Age, and ſo he ſet himſelf to oppoſe it, not only by the ſhining Example of his own Life, but by engaging in a Cauſe, that indeed could hardly fall into better hands: And as he could not find a Subject more worthy of himſelf, ſo there were few in the Age that underſtood it ſo well, and could manage it more Skilfully. The occaſion that firſt led him to write about it was this: He was a ſtrict Obſerver of the *Lord's-Day*, in which, beſides his Conſtancy in the Publick Worſhip of God, he uſed to call all his Family together, and repeat to them the Heads of the Sermons, with ſome Additions of his own, which he fitted for their Capacities, and Circumſtances, and that being done,

done, he had a Custom of shutting himself up for two or three Hours, which he either spent in his *Secret Devotions*, or on such profitable *Meditations* as did then occur to his Thoughts: He writ them with the same simplicity that he formed them in his Mind, without any Art, or so much as a Thought to let them be published. He never Corrected them, but laid them by, when he had finished them, having intended only to fix and preserved his own Reflections in them; So that he used no sort of care to polish them, or make the first draught perfecter than when they fell from his Pen: These fell into the hands of a worthy Person, and he judging, as well he might, that the Communicating them to the World, might be a publick service, Printed two Volumes of them in Octavo a little before the Author's Death, Containing his

CONTEMPLATIONS,

I. *Of our latter End.*
II. *Of Wisdom and the Fear of God.*
III. *Of the Knowledge of Christ Crucified.*
IV. *The Victory of Faith over the World.*
V. *Of Humility.*
VI. Jacob's *Vow.*
VII. *Of Contentation.*
VIII. *Of Afflictions.*
IX. *A good method to entertain unstable and troublesome times.*
X. *Changes and Troubles, a Poem.*

XI. *Of the Redemption of time.*
XII. *The great Audit.*
XIII. *Directions touching keeping the Lord's Day, in a Letter to his Children.*
XIV. *Poems Written upon Christmas-Day.*

In the *Second* Volume.

I. *An Enquiry touching Happineſs.*
II. *Of the Chief end of Man.*
III. *Upon* 12. Eccleſ. 1. *Remember thy Creator.*
IV. *Upon the* 51. Pſal. v. 10. *Create a clean heart in me. With a Poem.*
V. *The Folly and Miſchief of Sin.*
VI. *Of ſelf Denial.*
VII. *Motives to Watchfulneſs, in reference to the Good and Evil Angels.*
VIII. *Of Moderation of the Affections.*
IX. *Of Worldly hope and Expectation.*
X. *Upon* 13. Heb. 14. *We have here no Continuing City.*
XI. *Of Contentedneſs and Patience.*
XII. *Of Moderation of Anger.*
XIII. *A preparative againſt Afflictions.*
XIV. *Of Submiſſion, Prayer, and Thankſgiving.*
XV. *Of Prayer and Thankſgiving on* Pſal. 116. 12.
XVI. *Meditations on the Lord's Prayer, with a Paraphraſe upon it.*

In them there appears a Generous and true Spirit of Religion, mixt with moſt ſerious and fervent

fervent Devotion, and perhaps with the more advantage, that the Stile wants ſome Correction, which ſhews they were the genuine Productions of an excellent Mind, entertaining it ſelf in ſecret with ſuch Contemplations. The Stile is clear and Maſculine, in a due temper between flatneſs and affectation, in which he expreſſes his Thoughts both eaſily and decently: In writing theſe Diſcourſes, having run over moſt of the Subjects that his own Circumſtances led him chiefly to conſider, he began to be in ſome pain to chuſe new Arguments; and therefore reſolved to fix on a Theme that ſhould hold him longer.

He was ſoon determined in his Choice, by the immoral and irreligious Principles and Practices, that had ſo long vexed his Righteous Soul: And therefore began a great Deſign againſt *Atheiſm*, the firſt part of which is only Printed, of the *Origination of Mankind*, deſigned to prove the *Creation* of the *World*, and the *Truth* of the *Moſaical Hiſtory*.

The Second Part was of the *Nature of the Soul*, and of a *future State*.

The Third Part was concerning the *Attributes of God*, both from the *abſtracted Idea's* of him, and the *Light of Nature*; the *Evidence of Providence*, the *notions of Morality*, and the *voice of Conſcience*.

And the Fourth Part was concerning the *Truth and Authority of the Scriptures*, with *An-*

swers to the *Objections* against them: On writing these he spent Seven years. He Wrote them with so much Consideration, that one who perused the Original under his own hand, which was the first draught of it; told me, he did not remember of any *considerable* Alteration, perhaps not of *twenty words* in the whole Work.

The way of his Writing them, only on the Evenings of the *Lord's Day* when he was in Town, and not much oftner when he was in the Country, made, that they are not so contracted, as it is very likely he would have writ them, if he had been more at leisure to have brought his Thoughts into a narrower Compass, and fewer words.

But making some Allowance for the largeness of the Stile, that Volume that is Printed, is generally acknowledged to be one of the *perfectest* pieces both of *Learning* and *Reasoning* that has been Writ on that subject: And he who read a great part of the other Volumes told me, they were all of a piece with the first.

When he had finished this Work, he sent it by an unknown hand to Bishop *Wilkins*, to desire his Judgment of it; But he that brought it, would give no other Account of the Author, but *that he was not a Clergy Man.* The Bishop, and his worthy Friend Dr. *Tillotson*, Read a great deal of it with much pleasure, but could not imagine who could be the Author, and how a Man that was Master of so much *Reason*, and so great

great a variety of *Knowledge*, ſhould be ſo *unknown* to them, that they could not find him out, by thoſe *Characters*, which are ſo little Common. At laſt Dr. *Tillotſon* gueſſed it muſt be the *Lord Chief Baron*, to which the other preſently agreed, wondring he had been ſo long in finding it out. So they went immediately to him, and the Biſhop thanking him for the Entertainment he had received from his Works, he bluſhed extreamly, not without ſome diſpleaſure, apprehending that the Perſon he had truſted had diſcovered him. But the Biſhop ſoon cleared that, and told him, He *had diſcovered himſelf, for the Learning of that Book was ſo various, that none but he could be the Author of it.* And that Biſhop having a freedom in delivering his Opinion of Things and Perſons, which perhaps few ever managed both with ſo much Plainneſs and Prudence, told him, *There was nothing could be better ſaid on theſe Arguments, if he could bring it into a leſs compaſs, but if he had not leiſure for that, he thought it much better to have it to come out, though a little too large, than that the World ſhould be deprived of the good which it muſt needs do.* But our *Judge*, had never the opportunities of reviſing it, ſo a little before his Death, he ſent the firſt part of it to the Preſs.

In the beginning of it, he gives an *Eſſay* of his Excellent way of *Methodizing* things, in which he was ſo great a Maſter, that whatever he undertook, he would preſently caſt into ſo

perfect a Scheme, that he could never afterwards Correct it: He runs out Copiously upon the Argument of the *Impossibility* of an *Eternal Succession* of Time, to shew that *Time* and *Eternity* are inconsistent one with another; And that therefore all *Duration* that was past, and defined by *Time*, could not be from *Eternity*, and he shews the *difference* between *successive Eternity* already past, and one to come: So that though the *latter* is possible, the *former* is not so; for all the parts of the *former* have actually been, and therefore being defined by *Time*, cannot be *Eternal*; whereas the *other* are still future to all *Eternity*, so that this reasoning cannot be turned to prove the *possibility of Eternal Successions, that have been*, as well as *Eternal Successions that shall be*. This he follows with a Strength, I never met with in any that Managed it before him.

He brings next all those Moral Arguments, to prove *that the World had a beginning*; agreeing to the Account *Moses* gives of it, as that no *History* rises higher, than near the time of the *Deluge*; and that the *first Foundation* of Kingdoms, the *Invention* of Arts, the *Beginnings* of all Religions, the *gradual Plantation* of the World, and *Increase* of Mankind, and the *Consent* of Nations do agree with it. In managing these, as he shews *profound Skill* both in *Historical*, and *Philosophical* Learning, so he gives a Noble *Discovery* of his great Candor and Probity, that he would

would not Impoſe on the Reader with a falſe ſhew of reaſoning by Arguments, that he knew had Flaws in them; and therefore upon every one of theſe, he adds ſuch Allays, as in a great meaſure leſſened and took off their force, with as much Exactneſs of Judgment, and ſtrictneſs of Cenſure, as if he had been ſet to Plead for the other Side: And indeed ſumms up the whole Evidence for Religion, as impartially as ever he did in a Tryal for Life or Death to the *Jury*; which how Equally and Judiciouſly he always did, the whole Nation well knows.

After that, he Examines the *Ancient Opinions* of the *Philoſophers*, and inlarges with a great variety of curious Reflections in anſwering that only Argument, that has any appearance of Strength for the *Caſual* production of Man, from the *origination of Inſects* out of *putrefied Matter*, as is commonly ſuppoſed, and he concluded the Book, ſhewing how *Rational* and *Philoſophical* the Account which *Moſes* gives of it is. There is in it all a ſagacity and quickneſs of Thought, mixed with great and curious Learning, that I confeſs I never met together in any other Book on that Subject: Among other Conjectures, one he gives concerning the Deluge is, *that he did not think the Face of the Earth and the Waters, were altogether the ſame before the Univerſal Deluge, and after: But poſſibly the Face of the Earth was more even than now it is: The Seas poſſibly more dilated and extended,*

tended, and not ſo deep as now: And a little after, *poſſibly the Seas have undermined much of the appearing Continent of Earth.* This I the rather take notice of, becauſe it hath been ſince his Death, made out in a moſt Ingenious, and moſt Elegantly Writ Book, by Mr. *Burnet* of *Chriſt's College* in *Cambridge*, who has given ſuch an *Eſſay* towards the proving the *poſſibility* of an *univerſal Deluge*, and from thence, has Collected with great Sagacity what *Paradiſe* was before it, as has not been offered by any *Philoſopher* before him.

While the *Judge* was thus imploying his time, the *Lord Chief Juſtice Keyling* dying, he was on the 18th. of *May* 1671, promoted to be *Lord Chief Juſtice* of *England.* He had made the *Pleas of the Crown* one of his Chief Studies, and by much ſearch, and long Obſervation, had Compoſed that *great Work* concerning them, formerly mentioned: He that holds the high Office of *Juſticiary* in that Court, being the Chief Truſtee, and Aſſertor of the Liberties of his Country; all People applauded this Choice, and thought their Liberties could not be better depoſited than in the hands of one, that as he underſtood them well, ſo he had all the Juſtice and Courage, that ſo Sacred a Truſt required. One thing was much obſerved and commended in him, that when there was a great *Inequality* in the *Ability* and *Learning* of the Councellors that were to Plead one againſt another:

ther: He thought it became him, as the *Judge*, to Supply that; ſo he would *enforce* what the weaker Council managed but *indifferently*, and not ſuffer the *more Learned* to carry the Buſineſs by the *Advantage* they had over the others in their *quickneſs* and *skill* in Law, and *readineſs* in Pleading, till all things were cleared in which the *Merits* and *Strength* of the ill defended Cauſe lay. He was not ſatisfied barely to give his Judgment in Cauſes, but did eſpecially in all Intricate ones, give ſuch an Account of the Reaſons that prevailed with him; that the Council did not only acquieſce in his Authority, but were ſo convinced by his Reaſons, that I have heard many profeſs that he brought them often to change their Opinions; ſo that his giving of Judgment was really a learned Lecture upon that point of Law: And which was yet more, the Parties themſelves, though Intereſt does too commonly corrupt the Judgment, were generally ſatisfied with the Juſtice of his deciſions, even when they were made againſt them. His Impartial Juſtice, and great Diligence, drew the Chief Practice after him, into whatſoever Court he came: Since, though the Courts of *Common-Pleas*, the *Exchequer* and the *Kings-Bench*, are appointed for the Tryal of Cauſes of different Natures, yet it is eaſie to bring moſt Cauſes into any of them, as the Council or Attorneys pleaſe; ſo as he had drawn the Buſineſs much after him, both into the *Common-Pleas*, and

and the *Exchequer*, it now followed him into the *Kings-Bench*, and many Cauſes that were depending in the *Exchequer* and not determined, were let fall there, and brought again before him in the Court to which he was now removed. And here did he ſpend the reſt of his publick Life and Imployment: But about Four years and a half after this Advancement, he who had hitherto enjoyed a firm and vigorous Health, to which his great Temperance, and the Equality of his Mind, did not a little conduce, was on a ſudden brought very low by an Inflammation in his Midriff, which in two days time broke the Conſtitution of his Health to ſuch a degree, that he never recovered it: He became ſo Aſthmatical, that with great difficulty he could fetch his Breath, that determined in a Dropſie, of which he afterwards Died. He underſtood Phyſick ſo well, that conſidering his Age, he concluded his Diſtemper muſt carry him off in a little time; and therefore he reſolved to have ſome of the laſt Months of his Life reſerved to himſelf, that being freed of all Worldly Cares, he might be preparing for his Change: He was alſo ſo much diſabled in his Body, that he could hardly, though ſupported by his Servants, walk through *Weſtminſter-Hall*, or endure the Toil of Buſineſs; he had been a long time wearied with the diſtractions that his Imployment had brought on him, and his Profeſſion was become ungrateful to him; he loved to apply himſelf

himſelf wholly to better Purpoſes, as will appear by a Paper that he writ on this Subject, which I ſhall here Inſert.

Firſt, *If I conſider the Buſineſs of my Profeſſion, whether as an Advocate, or as a Judge, it is true I do acknowledge by the Inſtitution of Almighty God, and the Diſpenſation of his Providence, I am bound to Induſtry and Fidelity in it: And as it is an Act of Obedience unto his Will, it carries with it ſome thing of Religious Duty, and I may and do take Comfort in it, and expect a Reward of my Obedience to him, and the good that I do to Mankind therein, from the bounty and beneficence and promiſe of Almighty God; and it is true alſo that without ſuch Imployments, civil Societies cannot be ſupported, and great good redounds to Mankind from them, and in thoſe reſpects the Conſcience of my own Induſtry, Fidelity and Integrity in them, is a great Comfort and ſatisfaction to me. But yet this I muſt ſay concerning theſe Imployments, conſidered ſimply in themſelves, that they are very full of Cares, Anxieties and Perturbations.*

Secondly, *That though they are beneficial to others, yet they are of the leaſt benefit to him that is imployed in them.*

Thirdly, *That they do neceſſarily involve the party, whoſe Office it is, in great Dangers, Difficulties, and Calumnies.*

Fourthly, *That they only ſerve for the Meridian of this Life, which is ſhort and uncertain.*

Fifthly,

Fifthly, *That though it be my Duty faithfully to ſerve in them, while I am called to them, and till I am duly called from them, yet they are great conſumers of that little time we have here, which as it ſeems to me, might be better ſpent in a pious contemplative Life, and a due proviſion for Eternity: I do not know a better temporal Imployment than* Martha *had, in teſtifying her Love and Duty to our Saviour, by making proviſion for him, yet our Lord tells her, That though ſhe was troubled about many things, there was only one thing neceſſary, and* Mary *had choſen the better part.*

By this the Reader will ſee that he continued in his Station upon no other Conſideration, but that being ſet in it by the *Providence* of God, he judged he could not abandon that Poſt which was aſſigned him, without preferring his own *private Inclination* to the *Choice* God had made for him; but now that *ſame* Providence having by this *great Diſtemper* diſengaged him from the *Obligation* of holding a Place, which he was no longer able to *diſcharge*, he reſolved to reſign it: This was no ſooner ſurmiſed abroad, than it drew upon him the Importunities of all his Friends, and the clamour of the whole Town to divert him from it, but all was to no purpoſe; there was but one Argument that could move him, which was, *that he was obliged to continue in the Imployment God had put him in for the good of the publick*: but to this he had ſuch an Anſwer, that even thoſe who were

moſt

moſt concerned in his withdrawing, could not but ſee, that the Reaſons inducing him to it, were but too ſtrong; ſo he made Applications to His *Majeſty* for his *Writ of Eaſe*, which the *King* was very unwilling to grant him, and offered to let him hold his Place ſtill, he doing what Buſineſs he could in his Chamber; but he ſaid, *he could not with a good Conſcience continue in it*, ſince he was no longer able to diſcharge the *Duty* belonging to it.

But yet ſuch was the General Satisfaction which all the Kingdom received by his Excellent Adminiſtration of Juſtice, that the King, though he could not well *deny* his Requeſt, yet he *deferred* the Granting of it as long as was poſſible: Nor could the *Lord Chancellor* be prevailed with to move the King to haſten his Diſcharge, though the *Chief Juſtice* often preſſed him to it.

At laſt having wearied himſelf, and all his Friends, with his importunate Deſires, and growing ſenſibly weaker in Body, he did upon the 21ſt. day of *February*, 28. *Car.* 2. *Anno Dom.* 167$\frac{5}{6}$. go before a *Maſter* of the *Chancery*, with a little Parchment Deed, drawn by himſelf, and written all with his own hand, and there Sealed and Delivered it, and acknowledged it to be Enrolled, and afterwards he brought the Original Deed to the *Lord Chancellor*, and did formally ſurrender his Office in theſe Words.

Omnibus

Omnibus Christi fidelibus ad quos præsens Scriptura pervenerit, Matthæus Hale, *Miles, Capitalis Justiciarius Domini Regis ad placita, coram ipso Rege tenenda, assignatus, Salutem in Domino Sempiternam. Noveritis me præfatum* Matthæum Hale, *militem, jam senem factum & variis Corporis mei senilis morbis & infirmitatibus dire Laborantem & adhuc Detentum, hâc Chartâ meâ Resignare & rursum reddere Serenissimo Domino Nostro Carolo Secundo Dei Gratiâ Angliæ, Scotiæ, Franciæ, & Hiberniæ, Regi, Fidei Defensori,* &c. *Prædictum Officium Capitalis Justiciarii ad placita coram ipso Rege tenenda, humillime petens quod hoc Scriptum irrotuletur de Recordo. In cujus rei Testimonium huic chartæ meæ Resignationis Sigillum meum apposui. Dat' vicesimo primo Die Februarii Anno Regni dict. Dom. Regis nunc Vicesimo Octavo.*

He made this Instrument as he told the *Lord Chancellor* for two Ends, the one was to shew the World his own *free Concurrence* to his Removal: Another was to obviate an Objection heretofore made, *That a Chief Justice being placed by Writ, was not removable at Pleasure, as Judges by Patent were*; Which Opinion, as he said, was once held by his Predecessor the *Lord Chief Justice Keyling*, and though he himself were always of another Opinion, yet he thought it reasonable to prevent such a Scruple.

He had the day before surrendred to the King in Person, who parted from him with great Grace,

Grace, wishing him most heartily the *return of his Health*, and assuring him *that he would still look upon him as one of his Judges, and have recourse to his Advice when his Health would permit, and in the mean time would continue his Pension during his Life.*

The Good man thought this Bounty too great, and an ill Precedent for the King, and therefore Writ a Letter to the Lord *Treasurer*, earnestly desiring that his Pension might be only *during Pleasure*, but the King would grant it for Life, and make it payable Quarterly.

And yet for a whole Month together, he would not suffer his Servant to Sue out his Patent for his Pension, and when the first Payment was received, he ordered a great part of it to Charitable Uses, and said, he intended most of it should be so Employed as long as it was paid him.

At last he happened to Die upon the Quarter day, which was Christmas day, and though this might have given some occasion to a dispute whether the Pension for that Quarter were recoverable, yet the King was pleased to decide that Matter against himself, and ordered the Pension to be paid to his Executors.

As soon as he was discharged from his great Place, he returned home with as much Chearfulness, as his want of Health could admit of, being now eased of a Burthen he had been of late groaning under, and so made more capable

of Enjoying that which he had much wiſhed for, according to his Elegant Tranſlation of, or rather Paraphraſe upon, thoſe excellent Lines in *Seneca's Thyeſtes. Act.* 2.

Stet quicunque volet potens,
Aulæ culmine lubrico:
Me dulcis Saturet quies.
Obſcuro poſitus loco,
Leni perfruar otio:
Nullis nota Quiritibus,
Ætas per tacitum fluat.
Sic cum Tranſierint mei,
Nullo cum Strepitu dies,
Plebeius moriar Senex.
Illi mors gravis incubat,
Qui notus nimis omnibus,
Ignotus moritur ſibi.

Let him that will aſcend, the *tot'ring Seat*
Of *courtly Grandeur*, and become as great
As are his mounting Wiſhes: As for me,
Let ſweet *repoſe* and *reſt* my *Portion* be;
Give me ſome *mean obſcure Receſs* a Sphere
Out of the *Road* or *Buſineſs*, or the fear
Of *falling lower*; where I ſweetly may
My ſelf and dear retirement ſtill enjoy:
Let not my *Life* or *Name* be known unto
The Grandees of the Time, toſt to and fro
By *Cenſures* or *Applauſe*; but let my *Age*
Slide gently *by*, not *overthwart* the Stage

Of

Of *publick Action*, unheard, unseen,
And unconcern'd, as if I ne'er had been.
And thus, while I shall pass my *silent* days
In *shady privacy*, free from the *Noise*
And *bustles* of the mad World, then shall I
A good old *Innocent Plebeian* Die.
Death is a mere *Surprise*, a very *Snare*
To him, that makes it his Lifes *greatest Care*
To be a *publick Pageant*, *known to all*,
But *unacquainted* with himself, doth fall.

Having now attained to that Privacy which he had no less seriously than piously wished for, he called all his servants that had belonged to his Office together, and told them, *he had now laid down his Place, and so their Imployments were determined*; upon that, he advised them to see for themselves, and gave to some of them very considerable Presents, and to every one of them a Token, and so dismissed all those that were not his Domesticks: He was discharged the fifteenth of *Febuary* 167⅙: And lived till the Christmas following, but all the while was in so ill a State of Health, that there was no hopes of his Recovery: he continued still to retire often, both for his Devotion and Studies, and as long as he could go, went constantly to his Closet, and when his Infirmities encreased on him, so that he was not able to go thither himself, he made his servants carry him thither in a Chair. At last, as the Winter came on,

he saw with great Joy his deliverance approaching, for besides his being *weary* of the World, and his *longings* for the Blessedness of another State, his Pains encreased so on him, that no Patience inferior to his could have born them without a great uneasiness of mind; Yet he expressed to the last such *submission* to the will of God, and so *equal* a Temper under them, that it was visible then what *mighty Effects* his Philosophy and Christianity had on him, in supporting him under such a heavy Load.

He could not lie down in Bed above a Year before his Death, by reason of the *Asthma*, but sat rather than lay in it.

He was attended on in his Sickness by a Pious and Worthy Divine Mr. *Evan Griffith* Minister of the Parish; and it was observed that in all the Extremities of his Pain, when ever he Prayed by him, he forbore all Complaints or Groans, but with his Hands and Eyes lifted up, was fixed in his Devotions: Not long before his Death, the Minister told him, *there was to be a Sacrament next Sunday at Church, but he believed he could not come and partake with the rest; therefore he would give it to him in his own House*; But he answered, No *his Heavenly Father had prepared a Feast for him, and he would go to his Fathers House to partake of it:* So he made himself be carried thither in his Chair, where he received the Sacrament on his Knees, with great Devotion, which it may be supposed was

the

the greater, becauſe he apprehended it was to be his Laſt, and ſo took it as his *Viaticum* and Proviſion for his Journey. He had ſome ſecret unaccountable Preſages of his Death, for he ſaid, *that if he did not die on ſuch a day,* (which fell to be the 25*th* of *November*) *he believed he ſhould Live a Month longer,* and he Died that very day Month. He continued to injoy the free uſe of his Reaſon and Sence to the laſt Moment, which he had often and earneſtly Prayed for during his Sickneſs: And when his Voice was ſo ſunk that he could not be heard, they perceived by the almoſt conſtant lifting up of his Eyes and Hands, that he was ſtill Aſpiring towards that Bleſſed State, of which he was now ſpeedily to be poſſeſſed.

He had for many years a particular Devotion for *Chriſtmas day*, and after he had received the Sacrament, and been in the performance of the publick Worſhip of that day, he commonly wrote a Copy of Verſes on the Honour of his Saviour, as a fit Expreſſion of the Joy he felt in his Soul, at the return of that Glorious Anniverſary. There are Seventeen of thoſe Copies Printed, which he Writ on Seventeen ſeveral *Chriſtmas days,* by which the World has a Taſte of his Poetical Genius in which, if he had thought it worth his time to have Excelled, he might have been Eminent as well as in other things; but he Writ them rather to entertain himſelf, than to merit the Lawrel.

I shall here add one which has not been yet Printed, and it is not unlikely it was the last he Writ; it is a Paraphrase on *Simeon's-song*; I take it from his blotted Copy not at all finished, so the Reader is to make Allowance for any Imperfection he may find in it.

Blessed Creator, who before the Birth
Of Time, or e'er the Pillars of the Earth
Were fix't or form'd, did'st lay that great Design
Of Man's Redemption, and did'st define
In thine Eternal Councils all the Scene
Of that stupendious Business, and when
It shall appear, and though the very day
Of its Epiphany, concealed lay
Within thy mind, yet thou wert pleas'd to show
Some glimpses of it, unto Men below,
In Visions, Types, and Propheſies, as we
Things at a distance in Perspective see:
But thou wert pleas'd to let thy Servant know
That that Blest hour, that seem'd to move so slow
Through former Ages, should at last attain
Its time, e're my few Sands, that yet remain
Are spent; and that these Aged Eyes
Should see the day, when Jacob's *Star should rise.*
And now thou hast fulfill'd it, blessed Lord
Dismiss me now, according to thy word;
And let my Aged Body now return
To Rest, and Dust, and drop into an Urn;
For I have liv'd enough, mine Eyes hath seen
Thy much desired Salvation, that hath been

So

So long ſo dearly wiſh'd, the Joy; the Hope
Of all the Ancient Patriarchs, the Scope
Of all the Propheſies, and Myſteries,
Of all the Types unvail'd, the Hiſtories
Of Jewiſh *Church unrid'd, and the bright.*
And Orient Sun ariſen to give light
To Gentiles, and the joy of Iſrael,
The Worlds Redeemer, bleſt Emanuel.
Let this ſight cloſe mine Eyes, 'tis loſs to ſee;
After this Viſion, any ſight but Thee.

Thus he uſed to Sing on the former *Chriſtmas days*, but now he was to be admitted to bear his part in the new Songs above: ſo that day which he had ſpent in ſo much Spiritual Joy, proved to be indeed the day of his Jubilee and Deliverance, for between two and three in the Afternoon, he breathed out his Righteous and Pious Soul. His End was Peace, he had no ſtruglings nor ſeem'd to be in any pangs in his laſt Moments. He was Buried on the 4*th* of *January*, Mr. *Griffith* Preaching the Funeral Sermon his Text was the 57 of *Iſa.* 1 *verſe. The Righteous periſheth, and no Man layeth it to heart; and Merciful Men are taken away, none conſidering that the Righteous is taken away from the Evil to come*, Which how fitly it was applicable upon this occaſion, all that conſider the courſe of his Life, will eaſily conclude. He was Interred in the Church yard of *Alderly*, among his Anceſtors; he did not much ap-

prove of Burying in Churches, and used to say *the Churches were for the Living, and the Church-yards for the Dead.* His Monument was like himself, decent and plain. The Tombstone was black Marble, and the sides were black and white Marble, upon which he himself had ordered this bare and humble Inscription to be made.

HIC INHUMATUR CORPUS
MATTHEI HALE, MILITIS;
ROBERTI HALE, ET *JOANNÆ*
UXORIS EJUS FILII UNICI.
NATI IN HAC PAROCHIA DE *ALDERLY*,
PRIMO DIE *NOVEMBRIS* ANNO DOM.
1609. DENATI VERO IBIDEM VICESI-
MO QUINTO DIE *DECEMBRIS* ANNO
DOM. 1676. ÆTATIS SUÆ, LXVII.

Having thus given an Account of the most remarkable things of his Life, I am now to present the Reader with such a Character of him, as the laying his several Virtues together will amount to: in which I know how difficult a Task I undertake, for to Write defectively of Him, were to injure Him, and lessen the Memory of one to whom I intend to do all the Right that is in my Power: On the other hand, there is so much here to be commended and proposed for the Imitation of others, that I am afraid some may imagine, I am rather making a Picture of Him, from an abstracted *Idea* of great Virtues, and Perfections, than setting him

him out, as he truly was: Bnt there is great Encouragement in this, that I write concerning a Man ſo freſh in all Peoples Remembrance, that is ſo lately Dead, and was ſo much and ſo well known, that I ſhall have many Vouchers, who will be ready to juſtifie me in all that I am to relate, and to add a great deal to what I can ſay.

It has appeared in the Account of his various Learning, how great his Capacities were, and how much they were improved by conſtant Study: He roſe always early in the Morning, he loved to walk much abroad, not only for his Health, but he thought it opened his Mind, and enlarged his thoughts to have the Creation of God before his Eyes. When he ſet himſelf to any Study, he uſed to caſt his deſign in a Scheme, which he did with a great exactneſs of Method; he took nothing on Truſt, but purſued his Enquiries as far as they could go, and as he was humble enough to confeſs his Ignorance, and ſubmit to Myſteries which he could not comprehend, ſo he was not eaſily impoſed on, by any ſhews of reaſon, or the Bugbears of vulgar Opinion: He brought all his Knowlege as much to ſcientifical principles, as he poſſibly could, which made him neglect the Study of Tongues, for the bent of his Mind lay another way. Diſcourſing once of this to ſome, they ſaid, *they looked on the Common Law, as a Study that could not be brought into*

into a Scheme, nor formed into a Rational Science, by reason of the Indigestedness of it, and the Multiplicity of the Case in it, which rendred it very hard to be understood, or reduced into a Method: But he said, *he was not of their Mind,* and so quickly after, he drew with his own hand, a Scheme of the whole Order and Parts of it, in a large sheet of Paper, to the great Satisfaction of those to whom he sent it. Upon this hint, some pressed him to Compile a Body of the English Law; It could hardly ever be done by a Man who knew it better, and would with more Judgement and Industry have put it into Method; But he said, *as it was a Great and Noble Design, which would be of vast Advantage to the Nation; so it was too much for a private Man to undertake: It was not to be entered upon but by the Command of a Prince, and with the Communicated Endeavours of some of the most Eminent of the Profession.*

He had great vivacity in his Fancy, as may appear by his Inclination to *Poetry*, and the lively Illustrations, and many tender strains in his Contemplation; But he look't on Eloquence and Wit, as things to be used very chastly, in serious Matters which should come under a severer Inquiry: Therefore he was both, when at the *Bar*, and on the *Bench*, a great Enemy to all Eloquence or Rhetorick in Pleading: He said *if the Judge or Jury had a right understanding, it signified nothing,*

thing, but a waſte of Time, and loſs of Words; and if they were weak, and eaſily wrought on, it was a more decent way of Corrupting them, by bribing their Fancies, and biaſſing their Affections; And wondered much at that affectation of the *French Lawyers* in imitating the *Roman Orators* in their Pleadings. For the Oratory of the *Romans*, was occaſioned by their popular Government, and the Factions of the *City*, ſo that thoſe who intended to excel in the Pleading of Cauſes, were trained up in the Schools of the *Rhetors*, till they became ready and expert in that luſcious way of Diſcourſe. It is true, the Compoſures of ſuch a Man as *Tully* was, who mixed an extraordinary Quickneſs, an exact Judgment, and a juſt Decorum with his skill in *Rhetorick*, do ſtill entertain the Readers of them with great Pleaſure: But at the ſame time it muſt be acknowledged, that there is not that chaſtity of Style, that cloſeneſs of Reaſoning, nor that juſtneſs of Figures in his *Orations*, that is in his other Writings; So that a great deal was ſaid by him, rather becauſe he knew it would be acceptable to his Auditors, than that it was approv'd of by himſelf; and all who read them, will acknowledge, they are better pleaſed with them as *Eſſays* of *Wit* and *Style*, than as *Pleadings*, by which ſuch a *Judge*, as ours was, would not be much wrought on. And if there are ſuch Grounds to cenſure the Performances of the greateſt Maſter in Elo-

quence,

quence, we may easily infer what nauseous Discourses the other Orators made, since in *Oratory* as well as in *Poetry*, none can do *Indifferently*. So our *Judge* wondered to find the *French*, that live under a *Monarchy*, so fond of imitating that which was an ill Effect of the *Popular Government* of *Rome*: He therefore pleaded himself always in few Words, and home to the Point: And when he was a *Judge*, he held those thaat Pleaded before him, to be the main Hinge of the Business, and cut them short when they made Excursions about Circumstances of no Moment, by which he saved much time, and made the chief Difficulties be well Stated and Cleared.

There was another *Custom* among the *Romans*, which he as much admired, as he despised their *Rhetorick*, which was, that the *Juris-Consults* were the Men of the highest Quality, who were bred to be capable of the chief Imployment in the State, and became the greatest Masters of their Law: These gave their Opinions of all Cases that were put to them freely, judging it below them to take any Present for it; and indeed they were only the true Lawyers among them, whose Resolutions were of that Authority, that they made one *Classis* of those *Materials* out of which *Trebonian* compiled the *Digests* under *Justinian*; for the Orators or *Causidici* that Pleaded Causes, knew little of the Law, and only imploy'd their mercenary Tongues to work on

on the Affections of the People and Senate or the Prætors; Even in moſt of *Tullies Orations* there is little of Law, and that little which they might ſprinkle in their Declamations, they had not from their own Knowledge, but the Reſolution of ſome *Juris-Conſult*: According to that famous Story of *Servius Sulpitius*, who was a Celebrated Orator, and being to receive the Reſolution of one of thoſe that were Learned in the Law, was ſo Ignorant, that he could not underſtand it; Upon which the *Juris-Conſult* reproached him, and ſaid, *it was a ſhame for him that was a Noble-man, a Senator, and a Pleader of Cauſes, to be thus Ignorant of Law*: This touched him ſo ſenſibly, that he ſet about the Study of it, and became one of the moſt Eminent *Juris Conſults* that ever were at *Rome*. Our *Judge* thought it might become the greatneſs of a *Prince*, to encourage ſuch a ſort of Men, and of Studies; in which, none in the Age he lived in was equal to the great *Selden*, who was truly in our *Engliſh* Law, what the old *Roman Juris Conſults* were in theirs.

But where a decent Eloquence was allowable, *Judge Hale* knew how to have excell'd as much as any, either in illuſtrating his Reaſonings, by proper and well purſued Similies, or by ſuch tender Expreſſions as might work moſt on the Affections, ſo that the preſent *Lord Chancellor*, has often ſaid of him ſince his Death, *that he was the greateſt Orator he had known*; for tho' his

his Words came not fluently from him, yet when they were out, they were the most Significant and Expressive, that the matter could bear: Of this sort there are many in his *Contemplations* made to quicken his own Devotion, which have a Life in them becoming him that used them, and a softness fit to melt even the harshest Tempers, accommodated to the Gravity of the Subject, and apt to excite warm thoughts in the Readers, that as they shew his excellent Temper that brought them out, and applied them to himself, so they are of great use to all, who would both inform and quicken their Minds. Of his Illustrations of things by proper Similies, I shall give a large Instance out of his Book of the *Origination of Mankind*, design'd to expose the several different *Hypotheses* the Philosophers fell on, concerning the *Eternity* and *Original* of the *Universe*, and to prefer the *Account* given by *Moses*, to all their *Conjectures*; in which, if my taste does not misguide me, the Reader will find a rare and very agreeable mixture, both of fine Wit, and solid Learning and Judgment.

[That which may illustrate my Meaning, in this preference of the *revealed Light* of the *Holy Scriptures*, touching this Matter, above the *Essays* of a *Philosophical Imagination*, may be this. Suppose that *Greece* being unacquainted with the curiosity of Mechanical Engins, though known in some remote Region of the World,

World,and that an excellent Artiſt had ſecretlybrought and depoſited in ſome field or foreſt, ſome excellent Watch or Clock, which had been ſo formed,that the Original of its Motion was hidden, and involv'd in ſome cloſe contriv'd piece of Mechaniſm, that this Watch was ſo framed,that the Motion thereof might have laſted a Year,or ſome ſuch time as might give a reaſonable Period for their Philoſophical deſcanting concerning it,and that in the plain Table there had been not only theDeſcription and Indication of Hours,but the Configurations & Indications of the various Phaſes of the Moon, themotion and place of theSun in theEcliptick, and divers other curious Indications of Celeſtial Motions,and that the Scholars of the ſeveral Schools,of *Epicurus*,of *Ariſtotle*,of *Plato*,and the reſt of thoſe Philoſophical Sects, had caſually in their Walk,found this admirable *Automaton*; what kind of Work would there have been made by every Sect,in giving an account of this Phœnomenon? We ſhould have had the *Epicurean* Sect, have told the Byſtanders according to their preconceiv'd Hypotheſis, *that this was nothing elſe but an accidental contretion of Atoms, that haply fallen together had made up the Index, the Wheels, and the Ballance, and that being haply fallen into this Poſture, they were put into Motion.* Then the *Carteſian* falls in with him,as to the main of their Suppoſition, but tells him,*that he doth not ſufficiently explicate*

cate how the Engine is put into Motion, and therefore to furnish this Motion, there is a certain Materia Subtilis *that pervades this Engine, and the Moveable parts, consisting of several Globular Atoms apt for Motion, they are thereby, and by the Mobility of the Globular Atoms put into Motion.* A third finding fault with the two former, because *those Motions are so regular, and do express the various Phœnomena of the distribution of Time, and of the Heavenly Motions*; therefore it seems to him, that *this Engin and Motion also so Analogical to the Motions of the Heavens, was wrought by some admirable conjunction of the Heavenly Bodies, which formed this Instrument and its Motions, in such an admirable Correspondency to its own Existente.* A fourth, disliking the suppositions of the three former, tells the rest, *that he hath a more plain and evident Solution of the Phœnomenon, namely, The universal Soul of the World, or Spirit of Nature, that formed so many sorts of Insects with so many Organs, Faculties, and such congruity of their whole composition, and such curious and various Motions as we may observe in them, hath formed and set into Motion this admirable* Automaton, *and regulated and ordered it, with all these congruities we see in it.* Then steps in an *Aristotelian*, and being dissatisfied with all the former Solutions, tells them, *Gentlemen, you are all mistaken, your Solutions are Inexplicable and Unsatisfactory, you have taken up certain precarious Hypotheses, and being prepossessed*

ſed with theſe Creatures of your own fancies, and in love with them, right or wrong, you form all your Conceptions of things according to thoſe fanſied and pre-conceived imaginations. The ſhort of the Buſineſs is, this Machina *is eternal, and ſo are all the Motions of it, and in as much as a Circular Motion hath no beginning or end, this Motion that you ſee both in the Wheels and Index, and the ſucceſſive Indications of the Celeſtial Motions, is eternal, and without beginning. And this is a ready and expedite way of ſolving the Phænomena, without ſo much ado as you haae made about it.*

And whilſt all the Maſters were thus contriving the Solution of the *Phænomenon*, in the hearing of the Artiſt that made it, and when they had all ſpent their Philoſophizing upon it, the Artiſt that made this Engine, and all this while liſtned to their admirable Fancies, tells them, *Gentlemen you have diſcovered very much excellency of Invention touching this piece of Work that is before you, but you are all miſerably miſtaken: for it was I that made this Watch, and brought it hither, and I will ſhew you how I made it. Firſt, I wrought the Spring, and the Fuſee, and the Wheels and the Ballance, and the Caſe and Table; I fitted them one to another, and placed theſe ſeveral Axes that are to direct the Motions, of the Index to diſcover the hour of the Day, of the Figure that diſcovers the Phaſes of the Moon, and the other various Motions that you ſee; and then I put it together, and wound up the Spring, which hath given all theſe Motions, that you ſee in this*

curious piece of Work, and that you may be ſure I tell you true, I will tell you the whole Order and Progreſs of my making, diſpoſing, and ordering of this Piece of Work, the ſeveral Materials of it, the manner of the forming of every individual part of it, and how long I was about it. This plain and evident diſcovery renders all theſe excogitated *Hypotheſes* of thoſe Philoſophical *Enthuſiaſts* vain and ridiculous, without any great help of Rhetorical flouriſhes, or Logical confutations. And much of the ſame nature is that diſparity of the *Hypotheſes* of the learned Philoſophers in relation to the Origination of the World and Man, after a great deal of duſt raiſed, and fanciful Explications and unintelligible *Hypotheſis*. The plain, but Divine Narrative by the Hand of *Moſes*, full of Senſe and Congruity, and clearneſs, and reaſonableneſs in it ſelf, does at the ſame Moment give us a true and clear diſcovery of this great Miſtery, and renders all the Eſſays of the generality of the Heathen Philoſophers to be vain, inevident, and indeed inexplicable Theories, the Creatures of Phantaſie and Imagination, and nothing elſe.]

As for his *Vertues*, they have appeared ſo Conſpicuous in all the ſeveral Tranſactions and turns of his Life, that it may ſeem needleſs to add any more of them, than has been already related, but there are many *particular Inſtances* which I knew not how to fit to the *ſeveral Years* of his Life, which will give us a clearer and better view of him.

He

He was a *devout* Chriſtian, a *ſincere* Proteſtant, and a *true Son* of the Church of *England*; moderate towards *Diſſenters*, and juſt even to thoſe from whom he differed moſt; which appeared ſignally in the care he took of preſerving the *Quakers*, from that miſchief that was like to fall on them by *declaring their Marriages void*, and ſo baſtarding their Children; but he conſidered *Marriage* and *Succeſſion* as a *Right of Nature*, from which none ought to be barred, what miſtake ſoever they might be under, in the points of *revealed* Religion.

And therefore in a Trial that was before him, when a *Quaker* was ſued for ſome Debts owing by his Wife before he Married her, and the *Quakers* Council pretended, *That it was no Marriage that had paſt between them, ſince it was not Solemnized according to the Rules of the Church of England*; he declared, that he was not willing on his own opinion to make their Children Baſtards, and gave directions to the *Jury* to find it *ſpecial*. It was a reflection on the whole Party, that one of them to avoid an Inconvenience he had faln, in thought to have preſerved himſelf by a defence, that if it had been allowed in Law, muſt have made their whole iſſue Baſtards, and incapable of Succeſſion, and for all their pretended *friendſhip* to one another, if this *Judge* had not been more their friend, than one of thoſe they ſo called, their Poſterity had been little beholding to them. But he governed himſelf indeed by the Law of

the Gospel, of *doing to others what he would have others do to him*; and therefore because he would have thought it a *hardship* not without *Cruelty*, if amongst *Papists* all Marriages were nulled which had not been made with all the Ceremonies in the *Roman Ritual*, so he applying this to the case of the *Sectaries*, he thought all Marriages made according to the several perswasions of Men, ought to have their Effects in Law.

He used constantly to worship God in his Family, performing it always himself, if there was no Clergyman present: But as to his *private Exercises* in devotion, he took that extraordinary care to keep what he did secret, that this part of his Character must be defective, except it be acknowledged that Humility in covering it, commends him much more than the highest expression of Devotion could have done.

From the first time that the Impressions of Religion settled deeply in his Mind. He used great caution to conceal it: not only in obedience to the Rules given by our *Saviour* of *Fasting*, *Praying*, *and giving Alms in Secret*; but from a particular distrust he had of himself, for he said he was afraid, he should at some time or other, do some enormous thing, which if he were look't on as a very Religious Man, might cast a reproach on the profession of it, and give great advantages to impious Men, to blaspheme the name of God: *But a Tree is known by its Fruits*; and he lived not only free of Blemishes, or Scandal, but shined in all the parts of his Con-

Converſation: and perhaps the *diſtruſt* he was in of himſelf, contributed not a little to the *Purity* of his Life, for he being thereby obliged to be more Watchful over himſelf, and to depend more on the aids of the Spirit of God, no wonder if that humble temper produced thoſe excellent Effects on him.

He had a Soul enlarged and raiſed above that mean appetite of *loving Money*, which is generally the *root of all Evil*. He did not take the *Profits* that he might have had by his *Practice*; for in common Caſes, when thoſe who came to ask his Council gave him a Piece, he uſed to give back the half, and ſo made Ten ſhillings his Fee, in ordinary Matters that did not require much time or Study: If he ſaw a Cauſe was *Unjuſt*, he for a great while would not meddle further in it, but to give his Advice that *it was ſo*; If the Parties after that, would go on, they were to ſeek another Councellour, for he would aſſiſt none in Acts of Injuſtice: If he found the Cauſe *doubtful* or *weak* in point of Law, he always advis'd his Clients to *agree their Buſineſs*: Yet afterwards he abated much of the Scrupuloſity he had about Cauſes that appeared at *firſt view* Injuſt upon this occaſion: There were two Cauſes brought to him, which by the ignorance of the Party, or their Attorney, were ſo ill repreſented to him, that they *ſeem'd* to be *very bad*, but he enquiring more narrowly into them, found they were *really very good* and *juſt*: So after this he ſlackned much of his former

Strictnels, of his refuſing to meddle in Cauſes upon the ill Circumſtances that appear'd in them at firſt.

In his Pleading he abhorred thoſe too common faults of *miſreciting* Evidences, *quoting* Precedents, or Books *falſly*, or *aſſerting* things *Confidently*; by which *ignorant* Juries, or *weak* Judges, are too often wrought on. He pleaded with the ſame Sincerity that he uſed in the other parts of his Life, and uſed to ſay, *It was as great a diſhonour as a Man was capable of, that for a little Money he was to be hired to ſay, or do otherwiſe than as he thought:* All this he aſcribed to *the unmeaſurable deſire of heaping up Wealth*, which *corrupted* the Souls of ſome that ſeem'd to be otherwiſe born and made for *great things*.

When he was a Practitioner, differences were often referr'd to him, which he ſetled, but would accept of no reward for his Pains, though offered by both Parties together, after the agreement was made; for he ſaid *in thoſe caſes he was made a Judge, and a Judge ought to take no Money.* If they told him, *he loſt much of his time in conſidering their Buſineſs, and ſo ought to be acknowledged for it*; his anſwer was (as one that heard it told me,) *Can I ſpend my Time better, than to make People friends, muſt I have no time allowed me to do good in.*

He was naturally a quick man, yet by much Practice on himſelf, he ſubdued that to ſuch a degree, that he would never run ſuddenly into any Concluſion concerning any Matter of importance

portance. *Feſtina lente* was his beloved *Motto*, which he ordered to be ingraven on the Head of his Staff, and was often heard ſay, *that he had obſerv'd many witty Men run into great Errours, becauſe they did not give themſelves time to think, but the heat of Imagination making ſome Notions appear in good Colours to them, they without ſtaying till that cooled, were violently led by the Impulſes it made on them, whereas calm and ſlow Men, who paſs for dull in the common eſtimation, could ſearch after Truth and find it out, as with more deliberation, ſo with greater certainty.*

He laid aſide the *tenth Penny* of all he got for the Poor, and took great care to be well informed of *proper Objects* for his Charities: And after he was a Judge, many of the Perquiſites of his Place, as his dividend of the Rule and Box-money, were ſent by him to the Goals to diſcharge poor Priſoners, who never knew from whoſe hands their Relief came. It is alſo a Cuſtom for the Marſhal of the *Kings-bench*, to preſent the Judges of that Court with a piece of Plate for a *New-years-gift*, that for the Chief Juſtice being larger than the reſt. This he intended to have refuſed, but the other Judges told him it belong'd to his Office, and the refuſing it would be a prejudice to his Succeſſors, ſo he was perſwaded to take it, but he ſent word to the Marſhal, *that inſtead of Plate he ſhould bring him the value of it in Money*, and when he receiv'd it, he immediately ſent it to the Priſons, for the relief and diſcharge of the poor there. He uſually

invited his poor Neighbours to Dine with him, and made them ſit at Table with himſelf; and if any of them were Sick, ſo that they could not come, he would ſend Meat warm to them from his Table; and he did not only relieve the Poor in his own Pariſh, but ſent Supplies to the Neighbouring Pariſhes, as there was occaſion for it; and he treated them all with the tenderneſs and familiarity that became one, who conſider'd they were of the *ſame Nature* with *himſelf*, and were reduc'd to no other *Neceſſities* but ſuch as he himſelf might be brought to: But for common Beggars, if any of theſe came to him as he was in his Walks, when he lived in the Country, he would ask ſuch as were Capable of working, *why they went about ſo Idly*, if they anſwer'd. *It was becauſe they could find no Work*, he often ſent them to ſome Field to gather all the Stones in it, and lay them on a Heap, and then would pay them liberally for their Pains. This being done, he uſed to ſend his Carts, and caus'd them to be carried to ſuch places of the High-way as needed mending.

But when he was in Town, he dealt his Charities very liberally, even among the Street Beggars, and when ſome told him, *that he thereby incouraged Idleneſs, and that moſt of theſe were notorious Cheats*, he uſed to anſwer, *that he believ'd moſt of them were ſuch, but among them there were ſome that were great Objects of Charity, and preſs'd with grievous Neceſſities, and that he had rather give his Alms to twenty who might be perhaps*

Rogues,

Rogues, than that one of the other ſort ſhould periſh for want of that ſmall Relief which he gave them.

He loved Building much, which he affected chiefly, becauſe it imploy'd many poor People, but one thing was obſerv'd in all his Buildings, that the changes he made in his Houſes, was always from *Magnificece* to *Uſefulneſs*, for he avoided every thing that looked like Pomp or Vanity, even in the Walls of his Houſes; he had good Judgment in *Architecture*, and an excellent faculty in Contriving well.

He was a *Gentle Landlord* to all his Tenants, and was ever ready upon any reaſonable Complaints, to make Abatements, for he was *Merciful* as well as *Righteous*. One inſtance of this was, of a Widow that liv'd in *London*, and had a ſmall Eſtate near his Houſe in the Country; from which her Rents were ill return'd to her, and at a Coſt which ſhe could not well bear; ſo ſhe bemoan'd herſelf to him, and he according to his readineſs to aſſiſt all poor People, told her, *He would order his Steward to take up her Rents, and the returning them ſhould coſt her nothing*. But after that, when there was a falling of Rents in that Country, ſo that it was neceſſary to make abatements to the Tenant; yet he would have it to lie on himſelf, and made the Widow be paid her Rent as formerly.

Another remarkable Inſtance of his *Juſtice* and *Goodneſs* was, that when he found ill Money had been put into his hands he would never ſuffer it to be vented again, for he thought it

it was no excuſe for him to put falſe Money in other Peoples hands, becauſe ſome had put it in his: A great heap of this he had gathered together, for many had ſo far abus'd his Goodneſs as to mix baſe Money among the Fees that were given him; it is like he intended to have deſtroyed it, but ſome Thieves who had obſerv'd it, broke into his Chamber and ſtole it, thinking they had got a Prize; which he uſed to tell with ſome pleaſure, imagining how they found themſelves deceived when they perceiv'd what ſort of Booty they had fall'n on.

After he was made a *Judge*, he would needs pay more for every Purchaſe he made than it was worth; If it had been but a Horſe he was to buy, he would have out bid the Price: And when ſome repreſented to him, *that he made ill Bargains*, he ſaid, *it became Judges to pay more for what they bought, than the true Value; that ſo thoſe with whom they dealt, might not think they had any right to their favour, by having ſold ſuch things to them at an eaſie rate:* and ſaid it was ſuitable to the reputation, which a *Judge* ought to preſerve, to make ſuch Bargains, that the World might ſee they were not too well uſed upon ſome ſecret Account.

In Sum, his Eſtate did ſhew how little he had minded the raiſing a great Fortune, for from a Hundred pound a Year, he raiſed it not quite to Nine hundr'd, and of this a very conſiderable part came in by his ſhare of Mr. *Seldens* Eſtate: yet this, conſidering his great Practice while a Coun-

Counſellour, and his conſtant, frugal, and modeſt way of Living, was but a ſmall Fortune: In the ſhare that fell to him by Mr. *Seldens* Will, one memorable thing was done by him, with the other Executors, by which they both ſhewed their regard to their dead Friend, and their Love of the Publick; His Library was valued at ſome thouſands of Pounds, and was believ'd to be one of the curiouſeſt Collections in Europe: So they reſolv'd to keep this intire, for the Honour of *Selden*'s Memory, and gave it to the *Univerſity* of *Oxford*, where a noble Room was added to the former Library for its Reception, and all due reſpects have been ſince ſhewed by that great and learned Body, to thoſe thier worthy Benefactors, who not only parted ſo generouſly with this great Treaſure, but were a little put to it how to oblige them, without croſſing the Will of their dead Friend, Mr. *Selden* had once intended to give his Library to to that Univerſity, and had left it ſo by his Will; but having occaſion for a Manuſcript, which belonged to their Library, they asked of him a Bond of a thouſand Pound for its Reſtitution; this he took ſo ill at their Hands, that he ſtruck out that part of his Will by which he had given them his Library, and with ſome paſſion declared *they ſhould never have it*: The Executors ſtuck at this a little, but having conſidered better of it, came to this Reſolution; That they were to be the Executors of Mr. *Selden*'s Will, and not of his Paſſion; ſo they made good

good what he had intended in cold Blood, and paſt over what his Paſſion had ſuggeſt'd to him.

The parting with ſo many excellent Books, would have been as uneaſie to our *Judge*, as any thing of that nature could be, if a pious regard to his friends Memory had not prevail'd over him, for he valued *Books* and *Manuſcripts* above all things in the World; he himſelf had made a great and rare Collection of *Manuſcripts* belonging to the Law of *England*, he was forty Years in gathering it, he himſelf ſaid, *it coſt him about Fifteen hundred Pounds*, and calls it in his Will *a Treaſure worth having and keeping, and not fit for every mans view*. Theſe all he left to *Lincoln's-Inn*, and for the Information of thoſe who are curious to ſearch into ſuch things; there ſhall be a Catalogue of them added at the end of this Book.

By all theſe Inſtances it does appear, how much he was rais'd above the World, or the love of it. But having thus maſtered things without him, his next Study was to overcome his own Inclinations; he was as he ſaid himſelf *naturally paſſionate*; I add, *as he ſaid himſelf*, for that appear'd by no other Evidence, ſave that ſometimes his Colour would riſe a little, but he ſo govern'd himſelf, that thoſe who liv'd long about him, have told me they never ſaw him diſorder'd with Anger, tho' he met with ſome Trials, that the nature of Man is as little able to bear, as any whatſoever. There was one who did him a great Injury, which it is not neceſſary to

to mention, who coming afterwards to him for his Advice in the ſettlement of his Eſtate, he gave it very frankly to him, but would accept of no Fee for it, and thereby ſhewed both that he could forgive as a Chriſtian, and that he had the Soul of a Gentleman in him not to take money of one that had wronged him ſo heinouſly. And when he was asked by one. *How he could uſe a Man ſo kindly that had wronged him ſo much*, his Anſwer was, *He thanked God he had learned to forget Injuries.* And beſides the great temper he expreſſed in all his publick Imployments, in his Family he was a very gentle Maſter: He was tender of all his Servants, he never turned any away, except they were ſofaulty, that there was no hope of reclaiming them: When any of them had been long out of the way, or had neglected any part of their Duty; he would not ſee them at their firſt coming home, and ſometimes not till the next day, leaſt when his diſpleaſure was quick upon him he might have chid them indecently; and when he did reprove them, he did it with that ſweetneſs and gravity, that it appeared he was more concerned for their having done a fault, than for the Offence given by it to himſelf: But if they became immoral or unruly, then he turned them away, for he ſaid, *he that by his place ought to puniſh diſorders in other People, muſt by no means ſuffer them in his own Houſe:* He advanced his Servants according to the time they had been about him, and would never give occaſion

casion to Envy among them, by reason the younger Clerks above those who had been longer with him. He treated them all with great affection, rather as a Friend, than a Master, given them often good Advice and Instruction. He made those who had good places under him, give some of their profit to the other Servants who had nothing but their Wages: When he made his Will, he left Legacies to every one of them; But he expressed a more particular kindness for one of them *Robert Gibbon*, of the *Middle Temple*, Esq; In whom he had that Confidence, that he left one of his Executors. I the rather mention him, because of his noble Gratitude to his worthy Benefactor and Master, for he has been so careful to preserve his Memory, that as he set those on me, at whose desire I undertook to write his Life; so he has procured for me a great part of those Memorials, and Informations out of which I have Composed it.

The *Judge* was of a most tender and compassionate Nature; this did eminently appear in his Trying and giving Sentence upon Criminals, in which he was strictly careful, that not a circumstance should be neglected, which might any way clear the Fact: He behaved himself with that regard to the Prisoners, which became both the gravity of a *Judge*, and the pity that was due to Men, whose Lives lay at Stake, so that nothing of jearing or unreasonable severity ever fell from him. He also examined the Witnesses

neſſes in the ſofteſt manner, taking care that they ſhould be put under no Confuſion, which might diſorder their Memory: And he Summ'd all the Evidence ſo equally when he charg'd the *Jury*, that the Criminals themſelves never complained of him. When it came to him to give Sentence, he did it with that Compoſedneſs and Decency, and his Speeches to the Priſoners directing them to prepare for Death were ſo weighty, ſo free of all Affectation and ſo Serious and Devout, that many loved to go to the Tryals, when he ſate *Judge*, to be edified by his Speeches, and Behaviour in them, and uſed to ſay, *they heard very few ſuch Sermons.*

But tho' the pronouncing the Sentence of Death, was the piece of his Imployment, that went moſt againſt the Grain with him; yet in that, he could never be molified to any tenderneſs which hindred Juſtice. When he was once preſſed to recommend ſome (whom he had Condemned) to his *Majeſties* Mercy and Pardon; he anſwered *He could not think they deſerved a Pardon, whom he himſelf had Adjudged to Die*: So that all he would do in that kind, was to give the King a true Account of the Circumſtances of the Fact, after which his *Majeſty* was to Conſider whether he would enterpoſe his Mercy, or let Juſtice take place.

His Mercifulneſs extended even to his Beaſts, for when the Horſes that he had kept long, grew Old, he would not ſuffer them to be ſold or much Wrought but orderd his Men to turn them

them loose on his Grounds,and put them only to easie work,such as going to Market and the like: He used oldDogs also with the same care: HisShepherd having one thatwas becomeblind withAge,he intended to have kill'd or lost him, but the *Judge* coming to hear of it, made one of his Servants bring him home and fed him till he died: And he was scarce ever seen more Angry than with one of his Servants for neglecting a Bird, that he kept, so that it died for want of Food.

He was a great incourager of all youngPersons,that he sawfollow'd theirBooks dilligently,to whom he used to giveDirections concerning the method of their Study,with a humanity and sweetness,that wrought much on all that came near him,and in a smiling pleasant way,he would admonish them. If he saw any thing amiss in them,particularly,if they went too fine in their Clothes, he would tell them, *It did not become their Profession.* He was not pleas'd to see Students wear longPerriwigs,or Attorneys go with Swords; so that such young Men as would not be perswaded to part with those Vanities, when they went to him, laid them aside, and went as plain as they could, to avoid the Reproof which they knew they might otherwise expect.

He was very free and communicative in his Discourse, which he most commonly fixed on some good and useful Subject,and loved for an Hour or two at Night, to be visited by some of

of his Friends. He neither ſaid nor did any thing with Affectation, but uſed a Simplicity, that was both natural to himſelf, and very eaſie to others: And though he never ſtudied the modes of Civility or Court-breeding, yet he knew not what it was to be rude or harſh with any, except he were impertinently addreſſed to in matters of Juſtice, then he would raiſe his Voice a little, and ſo ſhake off thoſe Importunities.

In his Furniture, and the ſervice of his Table, and way of Living, he liked the old Plainneſs ſo well, that as he would ſet up none of the new Faſhions, ſo he rather affected a Courſeneſs in the uſe of the old ones; which was more the effect of his Philoſophy than Diſpoſition, for he loved fine Things too much at firſt: He was always of an equal Temper, rather chearful than merry. Many wondered to ſee the evenneſs of his Deportment, in ſome very ſad Paſſages of his Life.

Having loſt one of his Sons, the manner of whoſe Death had ſome grievous Circumſtances in it; One coming to ſee him, and Condole, he ſaid to him, *thoſe were the Effects of living long, ſuch muſt look to ſee many ſad and unacceptable Things*; and having ſaid that, he went to other Diſcourſes, with his ordinary freedom of Mind; for though he had a temper ſo tender, that ſad things were apt enough to make deep Impreſſions upon him, yet the regard he had to the Wiſdom and Providence of God, and the juſt Eſtimate he made of all external things, did to ad-

miration maintain the tranquility of his Mind, and he gave no occasion by idleness to Melancholy to corrupt his Spirit, but by the perpetual bent of his thoughts, he knew well how to divert them from being oppressed with the excesses of Sorrow.

He had a generous and noble *Idea* of God in his Mind, and this he found did above all other Considerations preserve his quiet. And indeed that was so well Established in him, that no accidents, how sudden soever, were observed to discompose him: Of which an Eminent Man of that Profession, gave me this instance: In the year 1666, an Opinion did run through the Nation, *That the end of the World would come that year.* This, whether set on by Astrologers, or advanced by those who thought it might have some relation to the *number* of the Beast in the *Revelation*, or promoted by Men of ill Designs, to disturb the publick Peace, had spread mightily among the people; and *Judge Hale* going that year the *Western* Circuit, it happened, that as he was on the *Bench* at the *Assizes*, a most terrible Storm fell out very unexpectedly, accompanied with such flashes of Lightning, and claps of Thunder, that the like will hardly fall out in an Age, upon which a whisper or a rumour run through the Crowd, *That now was the World to end, and the day of Judgment to begin*, and at this there followed a general Consternation in the whole Assembly, and all Men forgot the Business they were met about, and betook themselves

themſelves to their Prayers: This added to the horror raiſed by the Storm, looked very diſmally; in ſo much that my Author, a Man of no ordinary Reſolution, and firmneſs of mind confeſſed *it made a great Impreſſion on himſelf.* But he told me, *That he did obſerve the Judge was not a whit affected, and was going on with the Buſineſs of the Court in his ordinary manner:* From which he made this concluſion, *That his thoughts were ſo well fixed, that he believed if the World had been really to end, it would have given him no conſiderable diſturbance.*

But I ſhall now conclude all that I ſhall ſay concerning him with what one of the greateſt Men of the Profeſſion of the Law, ſent me as an abſtract of the Character he had made of him, upon long obſervation, and much converſe with him: It was ſent me, that from thence with the other Materials, I might make ſuch a Repreſentation of him to the World, as he indeed deſerved, but I reſolved not to ſhred it out in parcels, but to ſet it down entirely as it was ſent me, hoping that as the Reader will be much delighted with it, ſo the Noble perſon that ſent it, will not be offended with me for keeping it entire, and ſetting it in the beſt light I could; It begins abruptly, being deſigned to ſupply the defects of others, from whom I had earlier and more copious Informations.

He would never be brought to diſcourſe of publick Matters in private Converſation, but in que-

ſtions of Law, when any young Lawyer put a Caſe to him, he was very communicative, eſpecially while he was at the Bar: But when he came to the Bench, he grew more reſerv'd, and would never ſuffer his Opinion in any caſe to be known, till he was obliged to declare it Judicially; And he concealed his Opinion in great Caſes ſo carefully, that the reſt of the Judges in the ſame Court could never perceive it: His reaſon was, Becauſe every Judge ought to give Sentence according to his own Perſwaſion and Conſcience, and not to be ſway'd by any reſpect or deference to another Man's Opinion: *And by this means it hath happened ſometimes, that when all the Barons of the Exchequer had delivered their Opinions, and agreed in their Reaſons and Arguments; yet he coming to ſpeak laſt, and differing in Judgment from them, hath expreſt himſelf with ſo much Weight and Solidity, that the Barons have immediately retracted their Votes, and concurr'd with him. He hath ſat as a Judge in all the Courts of Law, and in two of them as Chief, but ſtill where ever he ſat, all Buſineſs of conſequence followed him, and no Man was content to ſit down by the Judgment of any other Court, till the Caſe were brought before him, to ſee whether he were of the ſame mind; And his Opinion being once known, Men did readily acquieſce in it; and it was very rarely ſeen, that any Man attempted to bring it about again, and he that did ſo, did it upon great Diſadvantages, and was always lookt upon as a very contentious Perſon; So that what* Cicero *ſays of* Brutus, *did very often happen to him,* Etiam

quos

quos contra ſtatuit æquos placatoſque dimiſit.

Nor did Men reverence his Judgment and Opinion in Courts of Law only: But his Authority was as great in Courts of Equity, and the ſame reſpect and ſubmiſſion was paid to him there too; And this appeared not only in his own Court of Equity in the Exchequer Chamber, but in the Chancery too, for thither he was often called to adviſe and aſſiſt the Lord Chancellor, or Lord Keeper for the time being; and if the Cauſe were of difficult Examination, or intricated and entangled with variety of Settlements, no man ever ſhewed a more clear and diſcerning Judgment: If it were of great Value, and Great Perſons intereſted in it, no man ever ſhewed greater Courage and Integrity in laying aſide all reſpect of Perſons: When he came to deliver his Opinion, he always put his Diſcourſe into ſuch a method, that one part of it gave light to the other and where the proceedings of Chancery might prove Inconvenient to the Subject, he never ſpared to obſerve and reprove them: And from his Obſervations and Diſcourſes, the Chancery hath taken occaſion to eſtabliſh many of thoſe Rules by which it Governs it ſelf at this day.

He did look upon Equity as a part of the Common-Law, and one of the Grounds of it; and therefore as near as he could, he did always reduce it to certain Rules and Principles, that Men might Study it as a Science, and not think the Adminiſtration of it had any thing arbitrary in it, Thus eminent was this man in every Station, and into what Court ſoever he was call'd, he quickly made it ap-

pear, that he deserved the chief Seat there.

As great a Lawyer as he was he would never suffer the strictness of Law to prevail against Conscience, as great a Chancellor as he was, he would make use of all the Niceties and Subtilties in Law when it tended to support Right and Equity. But nothing was more admirable in him, than his Patience: He did not affect the Reputation of Quickness and Dispatch by a hasty and captious hearing of the Councel: He would bear with the meanest, and gave every Man his full Scope, thinking it much better to lose Time than Patience: In summing up of an Evidence to a Jury, he would always require the Bar to interrupt him if he did mistake, and to put him in mind of it, if he did forget the least Circumstance; some Judges have been disturbed at this as a Rudeness, which he always looked upon as a Service and Respect done to him.

His whole Life was nothing else but a continual course of Labour and Industry, and when he could borrow any time from the publick Service, it was wholly employed either in Philosophical or Divine Meditations, and even that was a publick Service too as it hath proved; For they have occasioned his Writing of such Treatises, as are become the Choicest entertainment of wise and good Men, and the World hath reason to wish that more of them were Printed: He that considers the active part of his Life, and with what unwearied Diligence and Application of Mind, he dispatched all Mens Business which came under his Care, will wonder how he could find any time for Contemplation: He that

considers

considers again the various Studies he past through, and the many Collections and Observations he hath made, may as justly wonder how he could find any time for Action: But no Man can wonder at the exemplary Piety and Innocence of such a life so spent as this was, wherein as he was careful to avoid every idle word, so 'tis manifest he never spent an idle day. They who come far short of this Great Man, will be apt enough to think that this is a Panegyrick, which indeed is a History, and but a little part of that History which was with great Truth to be related of him: Men who despair of attaining such perfection, are not willing to believe that any Man else did ever arrive at such a Height.

He was the greatest Lawyer of the Age, and might have had what Practice he pleased, but though he did most Conscientiously affect the labours of his Profession, yet at the same time, he despised the Gain of it, and of those profits which he would allow himself to receive, he always set apart a Tenth Penny for the Poor, which he ever dispensed with that secrecy, that they who were relieved, seldom or never knew their Benefactor: He took more pains to avoid the Honours and Preferments of the Gown, than others do to compass them. His Modesty was beyond all Example, for where some Men who never attain'd to half his Knowledge, have been pufft up with a high conceit of themselves, and have affected all occasions of raising their own Esteem by depreciating other Men; He on the contrary was the most obliging Man that ever Practised: If a young Gentleman happened to be retain'd to argue a point

in Law, where he was on the contrary ſide, he would very often mend the Objections when he came to repeat them, and always Commend the Gentleman if there were room for it, and one good word of his was of more advantage to a young Man, than all the favour of the Court could be.

Having thus far purſued his Hiſtory and Character, in the publick and exemplary parts of his Life, without interrupting the thread of the relation, with what was Private and Domeſtick, I ſhall conclude with a ſhort account of theſe.

He was twice Married, his firſt Wife was *Anne* Daughter of Sir *Henry Moore*, of *Faly* in *Berkſhire*, Grandchild to Sir *Francis Moore*, Serjeant at Law; by her he had Ten Children, the four firſt died young, the other ſix lived to be all Married; And he out-lived them all, except his eldeſt Daughter, and his youngeſt Son, who are yet alive.

His eldeſt Son *Robert* Married *Frances* the Daughter of Sir *Francis Chock*, of *Avington* in *Berkſhire*, and they both dying in a little time one after another, left five Children, two Sons, *Matthew* and *Gabriel*, and three Daughters, *Anne*, *Mary*, and *Frances*, and by the *Judges* advice, they both made him their Executor, ſo he took his Grand-Children into his own Care, and among them he left his Eſtate.

His Second Son *Matthew*, Married *Anne* the Daughter of Mr. *Matthew Simmonds*, of *Hilſly*, in *Gloceſterſhire*, who dyed ſoon after, and left one Son behind him named *Matthew*.

His

His third Son *Thomas*, Married *Rebekah* the Daughter of *Chriſtian Le Brune*, a *Dutch* Merchant, and Died without Iſſue.

His fourth Son *Edward*, Married *Mary*, the Daughter of *Edmund Goodyere*, Eſq; of *Heythorp*, in *Oxfordſhire*, and ſtill lives, he has two Sons, and three Daughters.

His eldeſt Daughter *Mary*, was Married to *Edward Alderley*, Son of *Edward Alderley*, of *Inniſhannon*, in the County of *Cork* in *Ireland*, who dying, left her with two Sons, and three Daughters; ſhe is ſince Married to *Edward Stephens*, Son to *Edward Stevens*, Eſq; of *Cherington* in *Gloceſterſhire*. His youngeſt Daughter *Elizabeth*, was Married to *Edward Webb*, Eſq: Barriſter at Law, ſhe Died, leaving two Children, a Son and a Daughter.

His ſecond Wife was *Anne*, the Daughter of Mr. *Joſeph Biſhop*, of *Faly* in *Berkſhire*, by whom he had no Children; He gives her a great Character in his Will, as a moſt dutiful, faithful, and loving Wife, and therefore truſted the breeding of his Grand-Children to her Care, and left her one of his Executors, to whom he joyned Sir *Robert Jenkinſon*, and Mr. *Gibbon*. So much may ſuffice of thoſe deſcended from him.

In after times, it is not to be doubted, but it will be reckoned no ſmall Honour to derive from him; And this has made me more particular in reckoning up his Iſſue. I ſhall next give an account of the Iſſues of his Mind, his Books, that are either Printed, or remain in Manuſcript;

ſcript; for the laſt of theſe by his Will, he has forbid the Printing of any of them after his Death, except ſuch as he ſhould give order for in his Life: But he ſeems to have changed his mind afterwards and to have left it to the diſcretion of his Executors, which of them might be Printed; for though he does not expreſs that, yet he ordered by a Codicil, *That if any Book of his Writing, as well touching the Common Law as other Subjects, ſhould be Printed; then what ſhould be given for the Conſideration of the Copy, ſhould be divided into Ten ſhares, of which he appointed Seven to go among his Servants, and Three to thoſe who had Copied them out, and were to look after the Impreſſion.* The reaſon, as I have underſtood it, that made him ſo unwilling to have any of his Works Printed after his Death, was; *That he apprehended in the Licenſing them,* (which was neceſſary before any Book could be lawfully Printed, by a Law then in force, but ſince his Death determined) *ſome things might have been ſtruck out or altered;* which he had obſerved not without ſome Indignation, had been done to a part of the *Reports,* of one whom he had much Eſteemed.

This in matters of Law, he ſaid, *might prove to be of ſuch miſchievous Conſequence, that he thereupon reſolved none of his Writings, ſhould be at the Mercy of Licenſers;* And therefore becauſe he was not ſure, that they ſhould be publiſhed without Expurgations or Interpolations, he *forbid the Printing any of them;* in which he afterwards

wards made ſome Alteration, at leaſt he gave occaſion by his Codicil, to infer that he altered his mind.

This I have the more fully explained, that his laſt Will may be no way miſunderſtood, and that his worthy Excecutors, and his Hopeful Grand-Children, may not conclude themſelves to be under an Indiſpenſible obligation, of depriving the publick of his excellent Writings.

The Concluſion.

THus lived and died Sir *Matthew Hale*, the *Renowned* Lord Chief Juſtice of *England*: He had one of the *bleſſings of Virtue* in the higheſt meaſure of any of the Age, that does not always follow it, which was, that he was *univerſally* much *valued* and *admired* by Men of *all ſides* and *perſwaſions*. For as none could *hate* him but for his *Juſtice* and *Virtues*, ſo the *great eſtimation* he was generally in, made, that few durſt undertake to *defend* ſo *ingrateful* a *Paradox*, as any thing ſaid to *leſſen* him would have appeared to be. His *Name* is ſcarce ever mentioned ſince his Death, without particular *accents* of ſingular *reſpect*. His *Opinion* in points of Law generally paſſes as an *uncontroulable Authority*,

thority, and is often pleaded in all the Courts of Juſtice: And all that knew him well, do ſtill ſpeak of him as one of the *perfecteſt patterns* of *Religion* and *Virtue* they ever ſaw.

The *Commendations* given him by all ſorts of people are ſuch, that I can hardly come under the *Cenſures* of this Age, for any thing I have ſaid concerning him; yet if this Book lives to *aftertimes*, it will be looked on perhaps as a Picture, drawn more according to *Fancy* and *Invention*, than after the Life if it were not that thoſe who knew him well, eſtabliſhing its Credit in the preſent Age, will make it paſs down to the *next* with a clearer Authority.

I ſhall purſue his *praiſe* no further in my own words, but ſhall add what the preſent *Lord Chancellor* of *England* ſaid concerning him, when he delivered the Commiſſion to the *Lord Chief Juſtice Rainsford*, who ſucceeded him in that Office, which he began in this manner.

The Vacancy of the Seat of the Chief Juſtice of this Court, and that by a way and means ſo unuſual, as the Reſignation of him, that lately held it, and this too proceeding from ſo deplorable a cauſe, as the infirmity of that Body, which began to forſake the ableſt Mind that ever preſided here, hath filled the Kingdom with Lamentations, and given the King many and penſive thoughts, how to ſupply that Vacancy again. And a little after ſpeaking to his Succeſſor, He ſaid, *The very Labours of the place, and that weight and fatigue of Buſineſs which attends it, are no ſmall*

ſmall diſcouragements; For what Shoulders may not juſtly fear that Burthen which made him ſtoop that went before you? Yet I confeſs you have a greater diſcouragement than the meer Burthen of your Place, and that is the unimitable Example of your laſt Predeceſſor: Oneroſum eſt ſuccedere bono Principi, *was the ſaying of him in the* Panegyrick; *and you will find it ſo too that are to ſucceed ſuch a Chief Juſtice, of ſo indefatigable an Induſtry, ſo invincible a Patience, ſo exemplary an Integrity, and ſo Magnanimous a contempt of Worldly things, without which no Man can be truly great; and to all this a Man that was ſo abſolute a Maſter of the Science of the Law, and even of the moſt abſtruſe and hidden parts of it, that one may truly ſay of his knowledge in the Law, what* St. Auſtin *ſaid of* St. Hierom's *knowledge in Divinity,* Quod Hieronymus neſcivit, nullus mortalium unquam ſcivit. *And therefore the King would not ſuffer himſelf to part with ſo great a Man, till he had placed upon him all the marks of Bounty and Eſteem, which his retired and weak Condition was capable of.*

To this high Character, in which the expreſſions, as they well become the *Eloquente* of him who pronounced them, ſo they do agree exactly to the *Subject,* without the abatements that are often to be made Rhetorick; I ſhall add that part of the Lord Chief Juſtices anſwer in which he ſpeaks of his Predeceſſor.

——*A perſon in whom his eminent Virtues, and deep Learning, have long managed a conteſt for*

for the Superiority, which is not decided to this day, nor will it ever be determined I ſuppoſe, which ſhall get the upper hand. A perſon that has ſat in this Court theſe many Years, of whoſe actions there I have been an eye and ear witneſs, that by the greatneſs of his learning always charmed his Auditors to reverence and attention: A perſon of whom I think I may boldly ſay, that as former times cannot ſhew any Superiour to him, ſo I am confident ſucceeding and future time will never ſhew any equal: Theſe conſiderations heightned by what I have heard from your Lordſhip concerning him, made me anxious and doubtful, and put me to a ſtand, how I ſhould ſucceed ſo able, ſo good and ſo great a Man: It doth very much trouble me, that I who in compariſon of him am but like a Candle lighted in the Sunſhine, or like a Gloe-worm at mid-day, ſhould ſucceed ſo great a Perſon, that is and will be ſo eminently famous to all Poſterity: And I muſt ever wear this Motto in my breaſt to comfort me, and in my actions to excuſe me,

Sequitur, quamvis non paſſibus æquis.

Thus were Panegyricks made upon him while yet alive, in that ſame Court of Juſtice which he had ſo worthily governed. As he was honoured while he lived, ſo he was much lamented when he died: And this will ſtill be acknowledged as a juſt inſcription for his Memory, though his modeſty forbid any ſuch to be put on his Tomb-ſtone.

THAT

THAT HE WAS ONE OF THE GREATEST PATTERNS THIS AGE HAS AFFORDED, WHETHER IN HIS PRIVATE DEPORTMENT AS A CHRISTIAN, OR IN HIS PUBLICK EMPLOYMENTS, EITHER AT THE BAR OR ON THE BENCH.

FINIS.

A Catalogue of all his Books that are Printed, and are to be Sold by William Shrowsbury *at the Sign of the* Bible *in* Duke-Lane.

1. THE *primitive Origination of Mankind*, conſidered and examined according to the Light of Nature. *Folio.*
2. *Contemplations Moral* and *Divine*, Part 1. *Oct.*
3. *Contemplations Moral* and *Divine*, part 2. *Oct.*
4. *Difficiles Nugæ*, or *Obſervations* touching the *Torricellian Experiment*, and the various ſolutions of the ſame, eſpecially touching the *Weight* and *Elaſticity* of the Air. *Octavo.*
5. An *Eſſay* touching the *Gravitation*, or *Non-Gravitation* of *fluid Bodies*, and the Reaſons thereof. *Octavo.*
6. *Obſervations* touching the *Principles* of *natural Motions*, and eſpecially touching *Rarefaction*, and *Condenſation*; together with a *Reply* to certain *Remarks*, touching the *Gravitation* of *Fluids*. Octavo.

7. The

7. The *Life* and *Death* of *Pomponius Atticus*, written by his Contemporary and Acquaintance *Cornelius Nepos*, translated out of his Fragments; together with *Observations*, *Political*, and *Moral* thereupon. *Octavo.*
8. *Pleas* of the *Crown*, or a *Methodical Summary* of the *principal matters* relating to that *Subject.* Octavo.
9. *Tracts on several Subjects.*
10. *A short Treatise touching Sheriffs Accounts, to which is added a Tryal of Witches, at the Assizes held at* Bury *St.* Edmonds, *for the County of* Suffolk *10th. of* March, 1664. *before the said Sir* Matthew Hale, *Knight.*
11. Magnetismus Magnus, *or Metaphysical and Divine Contemplations on the Magnet or Loadstone.*